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GEN. WADE HAMPTON ON THE CRISIS.

THE WAR DENOUNCED—THE TERMS UPON WHICH THE SOUTH CAPITULATED—HER LOYALTY AFFIRMED.

On Sept. 22, Gen. Wade Hampton delivered an address at Walhalla, Pickens District, S. C. The following is the part of the speech which relates to national affairs:

You may perhaps, fellow-citizens, think that any discussion of general politics is inappropriate on an occasion of this sort, but as I may not again have an opportunity to place myself right upon the record, or to correct the misrepresentations of both my antecedent and present position, disseminated by the radical press, may I claim your indulgence for a brief discussion of these topics? It is full time that some voice from the South should be raised to declare, that though conquered she is not humiliated; though she submits she is not degraded; that she has not lost her self-respect; that *she laid down her arms on honorable terms; that she has observed these terms with the most perfect faith, and that she has a right to demand a like observance of them on the part of the North.* Would to God that some voice more potent than mine would utter these truths! Would to God that the tongues of those great statesmen of Carolina, who, in times past, warned, counseled, directed our pathway, were not hushed in death, or those which more recently stirred the Southern heart to its profoundest depths, were not now as silent as death itself.

But perhaps in the midst of this silence so profound, even my voice, feeble as it is, may not be without that weight which always attaches to the utterance of truth, and in this hope I venture to discuss our condition and our policy. What, then, is our condition? *For four years the South was the victim of a cruel and unnecessary war—a war marked on the part of her opponents by a barbarity never surpassed, if equalled, in the annals of civilized warfare.* The sword failed to conquer her, for on nearly every battle-field she was victorious, and her enemies were forced to resort to weapons more congenial to their nature—fire and famine. The torch was applied with an unsparing hand. The mansion of the rich; the cottage of the poor; peaceful villages; thriving cities; even the temples of the Most High God, fell before this ruthless destroyer, leaving to mark the spots where once they stood, but ashes and blackened ruins.

All the industrial resources of the South were wantonly destroyed or stolen, and gaunt famine followed in the footsteps of the invaders. The men who had borne without a murmur every privation, who had faced death in a thousand shapes without flinching, were not proof against the cries which come to them from homeless and starving wives and children. *They laid down their arms, which they had crowned with eternal lustre, and they accepted the terms offered to them by the North.* What were these terms? Throughout the whole war the North declared in the most solemn and authoritative manner that she fought solely to re-establish the Union; *to bring back to one fold all the States, and to give to all equal rights and equal liberty.* This was the constant declaration of Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Seward not only announced the same principle, but he declared that whatever might be the result of the war, not only would all the rights of the Southern States be preserved, but that all their institutions would be intact. The Congress of the United States, in a resolution passed, I think unanimously, and never repealed, announced the object and the sole object of the war to be the restoration of the Union under the supremacy of the Constitution. The very powers under which we laid down our arms promised the protection of the government and gave the assurance that we should not be interfered with, so long as we obeyed the laws of the States wherein we resided. These declarations were made not only to the South, but to foreign nations; and the South was assured that she had but to acknowledge the supremacy of the National government to be received into the Union, as equal members of the great family of States, with all her rights and all her privileges unimpaired.

These were the terms upon which the South capitulated. On her part she was to cease war—to renew her allegiance to the National government, and to express her loyalty to the Constitution of the United States. On the part of the North there was to be amnesty for the past—a recognition of the Southern States as equal members of the Union, and a solemn pledge that all their rights should be held sacred. This was the construction placed by the South upon the covenant entered into, and it is the only fair and honest construction it will admit of. How have the parties to this covenant fulfilled their obligations? I have said that the South has performed her's with the most perfect faith. Let me prove the assertion. She was to cease war. When our commanding officers signed the Conventions which put a stop to the war, every soldier of the Confederacy, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, laid down his arms and returned to his home, or to the spot where his home had been.

The next condition of the terms required from the South, a renewal of her allegiance to the General government. In every Southern State, the people by their Conventions, their Legislatures and individually, conformed promptly to this condition. Loyalty to the Constitution of the United States was exacted, as the only other article of the terms required of the South. *I assert she has fulfilled this part of the compact, as well as the others, to the letter, and that in the true acceptation of the word, she is loyal.* What is "loyalty?" It is nothing more or less than faithfulness—obedience to the laws of that government under which you live. Have any people on earth manifested a higher faith or been more obedient to the laws of the land than we have been since our allegiance to the government has been renewed? Many of these laws we regard as illegal and unconstitutional, but to not one of them has the shadow of resistance been made. We have yielded our implicit if not a cheerful obedience to all, trusting that time would rectify the evils under which we labor. What higher proof of loyalty could be given than this?

But, fellow-citizens, was the South ever disloyal to the Constitution of the United States? I deny that she ever was, and I challenge her most bitter enemy to adduce one single instance in which she has been. From the adoption of that Constitution, up to the time when she framed one of her own goverance, no one can lay to her charge a single violation of any clause of that instrument. Did she ever propose to change it? Did she ever evade any of its provisions? Did she ever denounce it as a "league with hell and a covenant with the devil?" Nay more, when she framed a Constitution for herself did she not adopt the old and honored one almost word for word? Had the North been but half as loyal as the South has ever been, no war would have desolated our country, and the Union would be, what its founders intended—one of the equal and sovereign States, bound together by the strong ties of paternal affection, instead of what it now is, a consolidated despotism of the stronger States, ruling with a rod of iron, the weaker ones. *The South is, and ever has been loyal in the proper sense of the word.*

I am aware that the North has given a new meaning to this word when applied to the South. For the South to be loyal in the eyes of the North, she must admit herself to be inferior in all points; she must declare that she has sinned, and, like a repentent child, she must humbly sue for forgiveness. She must pronounce State Rights and State Sovereignty fallacies, and she must forget the teachings of Patrick Henry, of Jefferson and of Madison. You, men of Pickens, must forget the illustrious son you gave to our State, and you must brand Calhoun as a traitor. The names of McDuffie, Cheves, Hayne, Hamilton, Harper, must no longer be held in reverence in their own State, as those of great statesmen and pure patriots, but the men who bore them, like their immortal compatriot, are to be called traitors, and their doctrines seditious. *You will not be loyal until you import, along with everthing else, your politics, your morality and your religion from the North.*

I know not, fellow-citizens, how it may be with others, but for myself, I prefer still to cling to the political faith taught by her great Apostles of Liberty. I repudiate as heretical and damnable that morality which inculcates a "higher law" than the Bible teaches. And as to religion, I confess that after the way they call heresy, so worship I the "God of my fathers." We obey the laws of the land; we pay the taxes levied on us; we support the Constitution; and we acknowledge the supremacy of the National government. The North has no right to demand or to expect of us more than this. She has no right to ask that we should give up the divine right—which even slaves enjoy—of freedom of opinion; that we should deny the principles we hold sacred; that we should abase ourselves in the dust to propitiate her good will, or that we should kiss the rod that smites us.

> "Shall freeborn men, in humble awe
> Submit to servile shame,
> Who from consent and custom draw
> The same right to be ruled by law,
> Which Kings pretend to reign."

Shall we, who were freeborn men, be so base as to declare that our country has met the fate it deserved? Shall we submit to the shame which would cling to us forever, *if we admit that we have been guilty of treason?* Shall we cover ourselves with eternal infamy by branding as traitors the men who died for us and to whose memory you are now paying honor? Never! Never! Never! Let any fate, however hard, be our lot, rather than that such dishonor should be ours! When the gallant warrior-king of old, saw in the defeat of his brave army, the ruin of all his hopes, proud though conquered, he could still exclaim, "all is lost save honor." Let us, amid the failure of our hopes, the wreck of our fortunes, strive to save, like him, what is far more precious than all else, our honor.

I have given you the record of the South. I have shown how well she has kept her faith untarnished, how closely she has observed her obligations. Let me turn now to the record of the North. Bear in mind, that in giving this, I shall simply state facts, leaving you to draw your own inferences. I propose to say what the North has done. I do not intend to discuss the mortality, the honesty, or the justice of her actions. When the tyrant disputed the assertions of the philosopher, and endeavored to draw him into an argument, the reply of the latter was: "I do not choose to argue with the commander of thirty legions." Without being a philosopher, I can recognize the force of this answer, and I waive argument, as totally inappropriate in a discussion of this sort. Facts, which are said to be stubborn things, will be amply sufficient for my purpose at present.

For four years the North waged war upon us, only, as she solemnly declared, to bring us back into the Union. *More than a year ago the South expressed her willingness to return,* and yet she is now as effectually out of the Union as if she had never formed a part of it. The North professed to fight for the Constitution. As soon as she had the power to do so, she changed that Constitution, and she violated its sacred provisions. The North protested that she did not fight for conquest, or for plunder. The Southern States are at this moment practically conquered provinces, and more of their moveable property is now in the hands of Northern soldiers, who stole it, than in those of its rightful possessors. The parole which Southern soldiers received promised, as I have already said, that they should not be interfered with, so long as they obeyed the laws of their own States. And yet on their return to their States they were not allowed to exercise any right pertaining to free citizens, until they had, under oath, endorsed all the Acts of Congress and declared the abolition of slavery fixed, irrevocable and constitutional.

Amnesty for the past had been repeatedly promised to the South, yet how many of her citizens are still, in the brotherly language of the Radicals, only "unpardoned rebels," whilst her most honored and best beloved son languishes in a felon's cell, denied the sacred right guaranteed by the Constitution, of a "speedy trial by an impartial jury." The Southern States were to be recognized as equal members of the Union; and even in the imposition of taxes, there is no equality, for the cotton of the South has to bear a heavy discriminating tax for the benefit of the North. All the rights of the South were to be held sacred. She has only the right to live, and to labor, perhaps to complain, though to do so may be treason.

I have placed before you the record of the South and that of the North. Let the world decide which is entitled to honor, which to shame. I have drawn in dark colors, but alas, in too true ones, the condition of our country, and now turn to the discussion of what should be our policy. In the anomalous condition in which we are placed, it is a matter of great difficulty to mark out the proper course for us to pursue; but there are certain cardinal principles of which we should never lose sight. The first of these is, that *as we accepted the terms offered to us by the North in good faith, we are bound by every dictate of honor, to abide by them fully and honestly.* They are none the less binding on us, because the dominant and unscrupulous party at the North refuse to accord to us our just rights. Let us, at least, prove ourselves worthy of the rights we claim; let us set an example of good faith, and we can then appeal with double effect to the justice and magnanimity of the North.

These virtues, I would fain hope, are not totally extinct among that people, and there are brave men there, who are battling for justice, for constitutional liberty, for the equality of all the States, and for the rights of the South. The only hope, not alone for the South, but for freedom itself on this continent, lies in the success of this party. We are their natural allies, and I would sacrifice much—where honor and principle are not invaded, and then I would not yield one jot or title—to strengthen their hands in the great contest which is soon to decide the fate of Constitutional Liberty and Republican Institutions in the United States. The President of the United States has lent the great influence which his high position, his strong intellect, his firm purpose and his indomitable will give, to this new conservative party, and to his support every Southern man should rally cordially.

We may, perhaps, feel that he has not gone to the extent of his power or of our expectations in carrying out his policy to its legitimate ends, but we cannot forget that he has been the only bulwark to stand between our unhappy country and certain, irretrievable and everlasting ruin. But for him the horrors we endured during the war would have been far surpassed by those of peace. And though differing with him in many points, I cheerfully accord to him the highest praise for the brave and patriotic stand he has taken in defence of the South and of the Constitution. There is one other point on which there should be no misunderstanding as to our position, no loop on which to hang a possible misconstruction as to our views, and that is the abolition of slavery. I have already intimated that the mode by which the North secured the acquiescence of the South in the consummation of this purpose was a breach of faith on her part.

Of all the inconsistencies of which the North has been guilty—and their name is legion—none is greater than that by which she forced the Southern States, while rigidly excluding them from the Union, to ratify the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery, which they could do legally only as States of that Union. But the deed has been done, and I for one, *do honestly declare that I never wish to see it revoked.* Nor do I believe that the people of the South would now remand the negro to slavery if they had the power to do so unquestioned. Under our paternal care, from a mere handful he grew to be a mighty host. He came to us a heathen, we made him a Christian. Idle, vicious, savage in his own country; in ours he became industrious, gentle, civilized. Let his history as a slave be compared hereafter with that which he will make for himself as a freeman, and by the result of that comparison we are willing to be judged. A great responsibility is lifted from our shoulders by this emancipation, and we willingly commit his destiny to his own hands, hoping that he may prove himself worthy of the new position in which he has been placed. As a slave he was faithful to us; as a freeman, let us treat him as a friend. Deal with him frankly, justly, kindly, and my word for it he will reciprocate your kindness, clinging to his old home, his own country and his former masters. If you wish to see him contented, industrious, useful, aid him in his effort to elevate himself in the scale of civilization, and thus fit him not only to enjoy the blessings of freedom, but to appreciate its duties.

The essential points then, in the policy we should pursue, are, it appears to me, these: That we should fulfil all the obligations we have entered into to the letter, keeping our faith so clear that no shadow of dishonor can fall on us; that we should sustain Mr. Johnson cordially in his policy, giving our support to that party which rallies around him; that we show full obedience to the laws of the land, reserving to ourselves at the same time the inalienable right of freedom of speech and of opinion; and that, as to the great question which so materially affected our interests, the abolition of slavery, we should declare it settled forever. Pursue this course steadily, bear with patience and dignity those evils which are pressing heavily on you. Commit yourselves to the guidance of God, and whatever may be your fate you will be able to face the future without self-reproach.

Brother soldiers of Pickens, The grateful task your kindness imposed on me is finished. I wish that I could have discharged it in a manner more worthy of you, of the occasion, and of the men whose memory you are now honoring. But your kindness, of which I have had so many proofs, will induce you to overlook the many faults of my performance, I am sure, knowing, as you must do, how fully my heart is with you in the sacred work you have this day commenced.

It only remains for me to thank you for the courtesies you have extended to me on this occasion; to thank you, as I do most gratefully, for the spontaneous and unsolicited compliment you paid me a year ago at the ballot-box, and to wish that you may be prosperous, happy and free.

THE AMERICAN CRISIS.

PROFESSOR NEWMAN ON A COUP-DE-ETAT—CORRESPONDENCE WITH GEN. NEAL DOW.

The following letters are furnished by Mr. T. W. Barker to the London *News:*

"No. 1 Dover Place, Clifton, }
Bristol, Sept. 17, 1866. }

"My Dear Mr. Barker: I read with much interest and momentary relief Gen. Neal Dow's letter to you on the impossibility of a *coup d'etat* from Andrew Johnson. Second thoughts showed me how easily Southern forces adequate to any imaginable *coup d'etat*, with Robert Lee to head them, could be concentrated in Washington. After this I read Gen. Sheridan's letter on the New Orleans massacre which the President suppressed. This fact and other documents prove Andrew Johnson's complicity in the massacre; and his public declaration that the Congress '*so-called*,' is no Congress, is a plain declaration of war on his part.

"I cannot think that Neal Dow, or his correspondent (who may have written before all this came out), knew the facts. If they did, the greater their sense of security the more terrible their danger, I believe. It all comes from Mr. Lincoln's New Orleans reconstruction, and Mr. Garrison's infatuated support of him. Happily, Mr. Garrison has been right this whole year; but Mr. Beecher and the Hon. Henry Wilson went quite wrong, and their influence has been something (the Hon. H. Wilson's, I believe, very great) to delude Congress into a position in which it has no longer any legal and constitutional means of action. I say it is situated now exactly as was Hungary in 1848, the certain and helpless victim of a traitorous executive, unless it make its revolutionary committee, and put its Kossuth at the head. It now must appear to foreigners as the insurgent, or submit to be plunged in horrors immeasurable. In every case I fear that the coming struggle will make the past seem small. There is no cruelty so great or so mad as to put back into power, under the idea of clemency, men of insatiable ambition, who, to gratify it, have plunged their country into civil war. This is what Mr. Lincoln did, and never lived to undo the evil; in fact, his very last project was to do the same evil thing which he called '*clemency*' in still worse degree. Without this no Andrew Johnson in the world could have wrought these terrible embroilments. Truly yours, F. W. Newman."

"Grand Hotel St. James, }
Rue St. Honore, Paris, Sept. 25. }

"Dear Mr. Barker: I thank you very much for your kind letter of the 18th, which I found here on my arrival from Normandy and Bretagne, and for a copy of a letter from our friend Professor Newman on American affairs, on which you wish my views. No Englishman is better informed in relation to the subject of his letter than he, and none takes a deeper interest in the success of our institutions and in the prosperity of our country and welfare of our people. But he does not know the condition of our country very thoroughly, nor the character of our people, else he would not have fallen into the error of supposing for a moment that a *coup d'etat* would be possible there. I will not occupy your time by showing that there are no 'Southern forces' now for Robert Lee to command, and if there were, he has possibly too much sense to place himself in a position to be overtaken by sure and swift retribution. I repeat my remark, that I do not believe President Johnson has ever, even in moments of his exaltation, contemplated such a measure as Mr. Newman apprehends. If I am mistaken in this, and Mr. Johnson should actually try the experiment, it would not be a very great calmnity. There has yet been no one punished for treason in this country; the public good, in my opinion, requires that some signal example should be made; and any such attempt on the part of President Johnson would be surely and swiftly followed by one. Mr. Newman, in apprehending an attempt by President Johnson to overthrow Congress and set its authority at defiance, forgets the great power of the loyal States, and the weakness and prostration of the rebel States, upon which alone he could rely for the success of his experiment. He forgets also that the officers and men of the army of the United States are thoroughly loyal men, and not only would not aid such an attempt, but would oppose it. In a week from the first blow at the authority of Congress, 100,000 armed and disciplined men would be in Washington, and in two months 500,000 would be encamped in its squares and on the surrounding heights. Mr. Johnson knows this; Mr. Seward knows it, and I am sure that in their serious, sober moments no scheme of violence has ever been entertained by them. Mr. Newman seems to lay great stress upon the character of Mr. Johnson's speeches, and on the offensive terms he employs when alluding to Congress. If these were uttered by Mr. Lincoln or John Quincy Adams, Mr. Newman would be justified in considering them of very grave moment. They would not in that case be the outburst of passion, of personal grudges, or party hate, but of a deep and intelligent conviction as to constitutional principles and requirements, and the true interests of the country. And their integrity, freedom from prejudice and passion, and intelligent devotion to the interests of the nation, would give great weight to their opinions among the people of all classes. But they could never have been guilty of speaking of the legislative department of the government as the "so-called Congress," under the circumstances. This phrase, if it means anything, declares that the body of men we have supposed to be the Congress of the nation, is in fact no Congress, but an assembly outside the law and the Constitution, usurping the powers and the authority of Congress, and which he would not only be justified in dispersing by force, but his plain constitutional duty to the country would require it. Mr. Newman is perfectly right in inferring that the President in speaking such words contemplated such action, and if he were other than he is, perhaps my countrymen might adopt the same opinion. But what is the Congress of which the President speaks in such terms? It is the constitutional quorum of both houses of Congress remaining in its halls after the traitorous members withdrew, and its successors, chosen from time to time by the people of the loyal States, in compliance with the terms of the Constitution. This Congress has conducted the country with marvelous success through a great war, expending of the public money $7,000,000,000, creating great armies and a great navy, enthusiastically supported by the people, and seconded by them in all their efforts, and always recognized as *the* Congress, constitutional in every respect, by all the people, by President Lincoln, and by President Johnson himself, in signing their acts as laws up to the last hour of the session. There is no man in the country who would ever have thought of Mr. Johnson as in any way suitable or qualified to be President. The majority of the members of Congress are morally and mentally his superiors, and many of its members are among the most able and upright men in the country, thoroughly conversant with the Constitution of the country, and whose opinions upon any constitutional question would command the acquiescence of the people, while Mr. Johnson's opinion upon any constitutional point would be held as out of the account. I think our friend may feel quite secure that the United States are not 'going to the dogs' just yet, and that 'the Republican bubble' on the Western side of the Atlantic will not 'burst' in our day. The elections, however, which are to take place this Autumn will render all speculations as to the future useless, as well as unnecessary, as they will decide what is to be.

Very truly yours,
"Neal Dow."

"My Dear Mr. Barker: I am sorry to say that Gen. Neal Dow's new letter brings me no alleviation of anxiety. He thinks I do not know, or I forget, this or that fact. It is not so. I have long since considered them. *He* seems to *me* to 'forget' that the Commander-in-Chief of the Union army is the very President whom Congress is to control, and that until the President is deposed, the army has to march whithersoever he bids it. Congress may talk and vote; but that is wind and paper in itself. I sadly remember what Thucydides says of the Greek factions, that the moderate, virtuous, and ablest men were killed, and violent men of less talent carried things before them, *because* the others desired to act by law, and were made confident by a sense of innocence, and right and law on their side.

"It alarms me to hear the North argue that the South will not try violence again because it has failed once. But now they have the Executive of the North in their hand (until March, 1870, unless he shall be deposed), which makes all the difference in the world. Andrew Johnson is now unable to choose his own course. He must do, and will do, what the Southern party dictate. If the North is forewarned, and shows that it will not allow legality to bind it, when its Executive is treasonable, the South may perhaps shrink from the attempt to set up a counter Congress. But it must be remembered, that fanaticism, not prudence, rules in the Southern councils.

Yours truly,
"F. W. Newman."

THE FREEDMEN.

REPORTS FROM GEN. SHERIDAN—OUTRAGES ON THE BLACKS IN LOUISIANA.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

Washington, Wednesday, Oct. 17, 1866.

Maj.-Gen. Sheridan, commanding the Department of the Gulf, has transmitted to Gen. Howard, Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, a report of the condition of the freedmen in Louisiana, for the quarter ending September 30, 1866. The General states the prospects of the cotton crop are gloomy, the continued and heavy rains of August and the early part of September, together with the appearance of the army or cotton worm in many portions of the State, having seriously affected the interests, not only of the freedmen, but of the entire population of the State. Many employers, whose entire crops have been destroyed, will not be able to pay the employes, and there appears to be a general desire to get rid of the responsibility of any longer maintaining the employes, every pretext being sought for discharging them. Many of the freedmen who engaged to work for a share of the crops, will be left not only destitute of the means of support during the coming Winter, but will be in debt to the owners of lands for supplies advanced to the freedmen during the Summer. Complaints are frequent that the freedmen, after having labored faithfully from the date of their contracts, Jan. 1, 1866, until the crop was ready to harvest, are being discharged *and driven away, ostensibly on the ground of having been insolent.* There are frequent reports of cruelty to the freedmen, particularly in the Northwestern parishes, where men go through the country at night disguised, and take the freedmen from their houses and whip and otherwise maltreat them. Homicides are frequent in some localities. Sometimes they are investigated by a coroner's jury, which justifies the act in some instances, and releases the perpetrator. In other cases, when the proof comes to the knowledge of the Agent of the Bureau, the parties are held to bail in a nominal sum; *but the trial of a white man for the killing of a freedman can, in the existing state of society in the State, be nothing more or less than a farce.* The total suspension of the issue of rations will cause much distress among a limited class of people in the State—the wives and children of those men who entered the service of the United States after the capture of New Orleans, and who were killed or have since died. In all the charitable appropriations by the parish authorities, these persons are excluded; and it is not seen how they can support themselves without aid from the Bureau. The location of homesteads by the freedmen is progressing favorably. But it is questionable whether the freedmen will be allowed to remain peaceably upon the lands. The contract system, as adopted by the Bureau in the State, has proved to be well adapted to the interests of both planters and freedmen.

MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI LEGISLATURE—GOV. HUMPHREY'S MESSAGE.

Jackson, Miss, Oct. 15.

The Mississippi Legislature met in extraordinary session here, and after its organization, Gov. Humphrey delivered his message. He congratulates the State on the removal of the negro troops from its limits, and the transfer of the Freedmen's Bureau to the control of officers of the regular army, and says the white race is thus relieved from the insults, irritations and spoliations to which they were so often subjected, and the black race from that demoralization which rendered them averse to habits of honest industry, and which was fast sinking them into habits of idleness, pauperism and crime. Both races are now settling down into business life, and cultivating those sentiments of mutual friendship and confidence so essential to the prosperity and happiness of both.

He also says:

Our Senators and Representatives to Congress are yet refused their seats. The Radical Congress has enacted laws and proposed amendments to the Constitution which, if adopted, will destroy the rights of the States and of the people, and centralize all the powers of government in the Federal head. Against these threatening powers of ruin the President has interposed the Executive power of the government, and has thus drawn upon his devoted head all its fury and vengeance. The Conservative patriotism of the North, and the brave soldiers who marched boldly up to the battle and fought for the Union, and who are now unwilling to lend themselves to the unholy work of trampling down the constitutional liberties of a people who succumbed to the mighty power of our common government, are arrayed in support of his Administration in its efforts to restore the States to their constitutional rights in the Union. The result of this fierce struggle between the President and Congress time alone can reveal. In the adjustment of what they term plans of reconstruction of the Union, the South can have no vote, and can only submit to the power that controls her.

Though our voice cannot be heard nor our rights respected in the adjustment of our Federal relations, many questions present themselves for our consideration and action as citizens of the State, that may affect our condition as citizens in the Union. Prominent among them is the amendment proposed by Congress as No. 14, which, at the request of the honorable Secretary of State, Wm. H. Seward, I herewith report for your action. This amendment adopted by a Congress of less than three-fourths of the States of the Union, in palpable violation of the rights of more than one-fourth of the States, *is such an insulting outrage and denial of the equal rights of so many of our worthiest citizens who have shed lustre and glory upon our section and our race,* both in the forum and the field, such a gross usurpation of the rights of the State, and such a centralization of power in the Federal government, and I presume a mere reading of it will cause its rejection by you.

The Civil Rights bill, passed by Congress at its recent session, conflicts directly with many of our State laws passed in pursuance to the amendment of the State Constitution, emancipating all the slaves in the State, and requiring the Legislature to guard them and the State from the evils that may arise from their sudden change, and has also been a fruitful source of disturbance. Immediately after your adjournment in December, 1865, I appointed Hon. Wm. Yerger, of Hinds County, and Hon. J. M. Ackers, of Monroe County, Commissioners, to visit Washington City and lay these laws before the President, and to request him to indicate which of them the military authorities in the State would be allowed to nullify. The President in his reply, gave them full assurance that none of them should be nullified except by the civil courts of the land. No violent collision has yet occurred between the State and Federal authorities, and I fear none so long as the District of Mississippi is under the administration of the present distinguished military commander, who has, in the settlement of the many delicate questions that have arisen, shown so just a sentiment toward our State and people thus far. All questions that could not be otherwise adjusted, have been submitted to the judicial tribunals of the country, and are now undergoing legal investigation. Now that the negro has shown a confiding and friendly disposition toward the white race, and a desire to engage in the pursuit of honest labor, *justice and honor demand of us full protection to his person and property, real and personal.* Firearms are not essential to his protection of property or his happiness, and society should be guarded by requiring him to procure a license to carry them—a privilege he can always secure, where his character for good conduct and honesty is known.

STATE CONVENTION OF COLORED MEN.

Albany, N. Y., October 16, 1866.

The State Convention of colored men of New York, announced to convene to-day in this city, met this noon in the Hamilton Street African Church.

Prof. William Howard Day, editor of *Zion's Standard*, New York, is permanent President of the Convention, and Mr. J. S. Boseman of Troy, and Mr. H. Molson are permanent Secretaries. The Vice-Presidents are Rev. J. A. Prime of Troy, J. W. Logan of Syracuse, and Peyton Harris of Buffalo. On assuming the chair, Mr. Day made a forcible and well-worded speech. He congratulated the Convention upon the auspices under which for the first time they met. Emancipation secured, and that emancipation confirmed through a loyal Congress by a Civil Rights and Freedmen's Bureau bill. (Cheers.) They were a fitting supplement to the Proclamation of Emancipation signed by the good man gone, whose portrait now hangs on the wall behind me. (Cheers.) But yet, though we stand on a higher plane of life than formerly, though no iron chain clanks upon the limbs of our brethren in all the land, we are called to take front rank in the new conflict of ideas, in the new battle, not only for freedom, but for full enfranchisement. (Cheers.) In that battle we are pushed forward by our friends only partially armed. We need the ballot to equip us fully; we need this truly American weapon—

> A weapon which comes down as still
> As snowflakes fall upon the sod,
> But executes a freeman's will
> As lightning does the will of God:
> Nor from its force nor bolts nor locks
> Can shield you—'tis the ballot-box.

The Professor touchingly referred to the endurances of the colored people in bondage, and also to the proud position they had won in every war of the Union. In 1776-'87 they bore the brunt of battle and helped to make the nation. In 1812-'15 they shouldered their muskets and everywhere defended the flag. And in 1863-'65 they went where the bravest dared, and came up from the battle with scars of honor. Some are limbless, some there are with one eye gone, some with scars on the forehead and breast, and all with honor preserved and national life defended. (Cheers). Mr. Day instanced the battles—spoke of the Twentieth, Twenty-sixth and Thirty-first New York colored troops (cheers)—of the Fifth Massachusetts cavalry, whom New York reinforced; of the Fifty-fourth (cheers) and Fifty-fifth Massachusetts, whom they supplied to some extent; to the Fourteenth Rhode Island heavy artillery, to whom we lent men; to the Twenty-ninth Connecticut (cheers) and to the six legions of Pennsylvania. (Cheers.) Said Mr. Day: "Brethren, citizens, ladies and gentlemen—Lift the dead pall from Wagner, from Olustee, from Milliken's Bend, from every plain where their souls went down in bloody waves, and you will find intellectuality, greatness, goodness, hopes of the young, and plans of maturer years, all gathered in from the great round of their lives, and in one uncommon effort planted on Southern soil, to preserve the seeds of freedom there, and (in the words of Mr. Lincoln) to 'keep the jewel of freedom in the family of nations.'" (Cheers.)

Mr. Day spoke at length of the credit thus gained for a race, and then dwelt upon the other grounds or claims upon which colored men rested their claim to the elective franchise or impartial suffrage, referring to the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, etc. Declining to speak more at length, because of the pressure of time, Mr. Day closed amidst applause by urging a united effort to secure impartial suffrage in the Empire State.

Among those present in the audience, were Miss Susan B. Anthony and Mr. W. W. Broom, a white delegate from Council No. 21 of the Colored Loyal League of New York city.

After the appointment of committees and some general discussion, the Convention adjourned till evening.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention reassembled at 6 o'clock this evening, President Day in the chair.

The Rev. Mr. Pettingill (white) of Troy, opened the Convention with prayer.

The following resolutions were introduced:

Resolved, That the elective franchise in this republic is not a gift, but a right belonging to all native-born men; that birth in this country is the only legitimate test of fitness to exercise that right; that when native-born men are deprived of its exercise, it is not to be bestowed but restored.

Resolved, That the colored people of the State regard the $250 clause in the State Constitution unjust to them and contrary to a republican form of government, on the principle that the right to decree a property qualification of $250 insure the right to decree a property qualification larger in amount, and so to increase it as to place republican institutions at the mercy of the few landed proprietors, and to create thereby a landed aristocracy.

Resolved, That the men who are affected by the laws, should have the right of saying who shall make those laws, except they have forfeited that right by crime.

Resolved, That the first duty of the colored men of the State is the using every reasonable effort to secure recognition in this State of their right to vote in common with others.

Resolved, That the claim we make is for impartial suffrage, and that the duty of the Republican and Democratic parties of the State is to assist us by every means in their power—the first (or Republican) party because it professes to base all its action upon the Declaration of Independence, which says, "all men are created (politically) equal; and the other (the Democratic party) because it professes to believe fully in the Jeffersonian doctrine of equal and exact justice to all men."

Resolved, That as a means to secure said support for a convention and for other purposes, we appoint a State Central Committee of 25 members who shall interrogate candidates for office and otherwise carry out the letter and the spirit of this series of resolutions, and which Committee shall in addition seek to mass the votes of the colored people in accordance with the spirit of these resolutions, said Committee to have power to fill any vacancies in their number and to appoint as many sub-committees as may be necessary.

Resolved, That a Committee of —— be appointed to draft and publish immediately an address to the colored people of the State in reference to the securing of their political rights—the support of schools, the honest acquisition of money, trades and land, and the responsibilities laid upon every colored man in the present juncture of National and State affairs.

Resolved, That this Convention tendera its heartfelt thanks to the soldiers of the war, and especially to their immediate representatives—the colored men; that they pledge to them every effort to obtain them a full recognition of the rights which they fought to secure; that we approve of the effort to keep up the military knowledge acquired, and believe that as citizen soldiers they will honor us, as they honored us when soldiers in the field.

Resolved, That we heartily approve of the proposed Convention of Colored Soldiers and Sailors called to meet in Philadelphia, January 8, 1867, to secure full recognition by the government of the country, and that we appoint a Committee of five members of this Convention to meet with and express to them our congratulations.

These resolutions were taken up and voted upon singly. Only the first five were voted during the evening session. Much discussion took place while the several votes were pending. Several of the speeches were really of much merit, and all of them had the right ring so far as justice and loyalty and freedom were concerned.

The Rev. J. J. Clinton, Superintendent of Zion's Connection of America; Mr. Colvin of Albany, and the Rev. William Pettingill of Troy, were elected honorary members of the Convention. A long discussion took place on the admission of Miss Susan B. Anthony as an honorary member of the Convention. The long-continued services of Miss Anthony in the interests of humanity were acknowledged by the Convention, but the vote to admit her was lost. Although the Convention refused to make Miss Anthony an honorary member, a large number of the delegates expressed a desire to hear her speak at a future time.

Wednesday, Oct. 17.

But little business of importance was transacted in the morning session.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention assembled at 2 o'clock, and resumed the consideration of the resolutions. After a long discussion the entire series of resolutions was adopted

The following address to the Republican and Democratic parties was authorized by the Convention:

ADDRESS TO THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES.

Fellow-Citizens of the State of New-York: Freemen of this grand old Commonwealth! whose brilliant past is, we trust, but the earnest of a glorious future; the representatives, in convention assembled, of that portion of your body politic which, by an invidious distinction incorporated in your organic law, is debarred save under onerous conditions, from the exercise of our indefeasible right—the elective franchise—salute you, in the name of God and Liberty.

In these sacred names, we congratulate you that the civil war, which for four years had convulsed the land, has terminated in the discomfiture of treason and in the triumphant vindication of the supremacy of the Federal Union: *Este perpetua!* We congratulate you, also, that, in the providence of God, the nation emerges from the fiery ordeal of battle with a firmer belief in human rights and a higher conception of social duties—sealing its devotion to the cause of human freedom by the sacrifice of its best blood, and demonstrating its sincerity by the emancipation of its bondmen. Sharing, as we believe you do, in this national regeneration, we indulge the motto of your State, by breaking the shackles of caste, so unworthy of you, so degrading to us, and thus elevate the entire population of the State to a higher embodiment of constitutional liberty. We deeply sympathize with you for the bereavement and desolation in many a home, caused by the absence of your gallant dead who fell battling against treason, or yielded up their lives as prisoners of war beneath torture of rebel hate. For now, in the hour of thanksgiving and chastened exultation, having cheerfully borne our allotment of the general burden and our share of the common risk, we, too, can point with honest pride to honorable scars and mutilations received in defense of constitutional government, the only safeguard of our common liberties. We, too, have sacred memories of our departed brave, whose mangled forms are mingled with the soil of many a battle-field whereon they died, beneath the starry flag whose folds now proudly wave supreme throughout the land. These scars these mutilations and these memories, irrefragable proofs of manhood's noblest duty fully done, and pledges for its future performance, being unproscriptibly ours and our posterity's forever, do but bind us the more firmly to the rest of our fellow-citizens for whom and with whom we have struggled, endured and triumphed. As native born Americans, we felt it to be our duty to act as soldiers, in war; as native born Americans, we believe it to be our right to act as citizens, in peace; not only in obeying the laws, but also in co-operating, through the appointed instrumentalities, in making them. For we believe that governments are instituted among men for the preservation of individual rights, and derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We hold with Montesquien, that "in a free State every man, who is supposed a free agent, ought to be concerned in his own government; therefore the legislative power should reside in the whole body of the people, or their representatives," and we affirm that society can neither justly ignore our rights nor absolve us from our duties. Coming together, therefore, on this occasion, to consult as to what measures are best calculated to further the varied interests of 50,000 of your population, 5,500 of whom went forth to battle in defense of the Union, and 5,000 of whom are voters, notwithstanding the barriers erected against them in the shape of discriminative constitutional requirements, alike absurd and iniquitous, we deem it our duty to make this solemn appeal, in their behalf, to those of our fellow-citizens in whom the law of the State virtually vests a monopoly of its rights and immunities; and to ask of you, as a measure of justice, to remove the hindrances which partial legislation have thrown in the way of our progress and development. Fellow-citizens of the Empire State, your Constitution affirms that "We the people of the State of New York, grateful to Almighty God for our freedom, in order to secure its blessings, do establish this Constitution;" we therefore would urge you, irrespective of party, to manifest your gratitude to God and your appreciation of the inviolable character of the freedom He has bestowed upon you, by no longer withholding from us a full and free participation in its blessings. We charge you, before Him whose name you invoke, that to deprive any citizen of the State, of lawful age, of sound mind and unconvicted of crime, of the right to vote, is a violation of the cardinal principle of the American theory of government and subversive of its existence. Fellow-citizens, your Constitution provides—Act 13, sec. 2—that, at the general election to be held in this year, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six; and each twentieth year thereafter, the question, "Shall there be a Convention to revise the Constitution and amend the same? shall be decided by the electors qualified to vote for members of the legislature." You are, therefore, about to be called on to decide whether said Convention, for the purposes specified, shall be held; and as we are deeply inter

war closed he returned home and took up again the practice of his profession. Last month, he and another Union man went to attend the Union meeting held in Houston, Winston county, Ala. They started but never reached there, as some of the "peace regulators" pursued them, and Dr. Hoy had to flee for his life. He returned to Elton, where he was informed by the citizens that he must leave the place immediately, which he did.

THE PRESS.

CONGRESS AND READMISSION.

The Albany *Evening Journal* in a recent political article says:

But Congress, representing the will of the people, proposes to deal with these assailants of the Union magnanimously. It refrains from exacting the death penalty. It refrains from exercising the right of confiscation. It refrains even from demanding that the rebels shall pay the debt which they alone are responsible for creating. It says that they may come back to the seats they have lost; they may retake the political rights they have renunciated; they may resume the citizenship they have dishonored, upon one condition only—that they shall give security for the future, and that it shall be "nominated in the bond." Nothing more is asked—nothing less could be accepted without dishonor.

We ask any candid man to look these plain facts in the face, and decide for himself whether it is possible to conceive of a more generous basis of adjustment than that upon which Congress proposes to restore to the rebels their franchises as citizens.

PUBLIC ESTIMATE OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

The Chicago *Republican* says:

The public estimate of the President was conspicuously displayed upon the publication of the Philadelphia *Ledger* hoax, the other day. The sensitive pulse of our business life—the money market—was at once thrown into a fever of excitement upon the mere statement, by a newspaper correspondent, nobody knew who, that Mr. Johnson had expressed a doubt of the legality of the present Congress. The people generally believed him capable of almost any act of foolishness or desperation, and a story which in the case of almost any other man would have been considered too ridiculous even for publication, gained currency, and almost belief, for twenty-four hours.

THE AMENDMENT AT THE SOUTH.

Says the Springfield *Republican*:

It is an unpleasant fact that the influential newspapers of the South are against the pending Constitutional Amendment. The papers that give to it any degree of support represent rather Northern men in the South than any considerable portion of the Southern people. The Richmond *Whig* believes that the ten unrepresented States will stand immovably against the amendment and defeat it.

The President takes the same view of the matter with these Southern papers, and his influence will be given to confirm the South in its purpose to reject the Amendment. This is the worst feature of the case as it stands. The true means of convincing the South that duty and interest alike require the adoption of the Amendment as a final settlement, is to roll up grand Republican majorities in the remaining Fall elections, and so overcome the President's influence and show the Southern people that if they refuse the terms now offered they are very certain "to go further and fare worse."

THE TIGER OF RADICALISM.

The Louisville *Journal*, which has dropped its conservatism and taken on a decidedly and violently Southern tone, says on the subject of the Amendment:

Nothing that the Southern people could possibly do would secure them in the resumption of their old position in the Union until after the Presidential election of 1868. The Jacobins are resolved at all hazards to exclude the citizens of the Southern States from all participation in that election. The South must have no voice in the making of the next President. She understands this. She comprehends her situation and that of the political ruffians who are trying to crush heart and soul and life out of her. The South knows that she has conceded enough. She knows that she will never find so good a stopping-place in her concessions as that which she is at now. She will not grant more. To do so would be to feed the raging tiger of radicalism with blood.

NO FURTHER SURRENDER.

The Columbia (S. C.) *South Carolinian* also advocates the policy of masterly inactivity and says:

Rather than endorse that Amendment and abase ourselves in the very dust, we say to our people—stay out of the Union! Let the North pour out its vials of wrath; let the country be denationalized; let a million of men guard our territory, and our obedience be rendered to a modern American despotism. But not while we hold dear the inalienable rights of citizenship; not while we respect the living or the dead; not while even the theory of liberty has a place on this continent, ought we to surrender one jot or tittle more than we have in our humiliation been forced to give up to our conquerors.

IMPEACHMENT AND REVOLUTION.

The conservative Republican journals of the type of the Springfield *Republican*, which have until recently been supporters of the President, are now trying to ward off impeachment, and to bring the President and the (rebel) South to an endorsement of the Amendment. The *Republican* says:

There will be no impeachment of the President, unless he should commit an impeachable offence, and there is no pretence that he has yet done so. The only act of which he is accused that might afford ground for impeachment, the attempt to purchase the votes of the Colorado Senators, by admitting the State, if they would support his policy, is not even mentioned by those who now talk about impeachment. The offences thus far for which he is arraigned have been against the party that elected him, rather than against the Constitution and laws, and that party has already tried, condemned and executed him, politically. Nor is there, on the other hand, any reason to suppose that the President intends to ignore Congress, or to make any attempt to limit its power or to interfere with its constitutional action. He has recognized this Congress and ratified its acts, while earnestly affirming and reaffirming his belief that it was violating the Constitution in excluding Southern members, and he will no doubt continue to reiterate this opinion, as he has a perfect right to do. There is nothing more that he can do about it, and he has indicated no purpose to attempt anything more. He knows very well that Congress is independent both of the judicial and executive departments, in its action, and is amenable only to the people. It is in effect the supreme power, for while it can impeach and depose the President and the judges, it may itself override and violate the Constitution, and none can hinder. Its members cannot be punished either for their words or votes; and whatever wrongs may be done under the forms of legislation, there can be no redress except by the people themselves, who pronounce their verdict every second year, upon the course of their Representatives, and every sixth year upon that of their Senators. The only check the President has upon the action of Congress is by his vote, which may be overridden by a two-thirds vote; and the judiciary is limited to decisions upon the laws actually brought in question before them in particular cases. The President must enforce every law until it is judicially pronounced unconstitutional. Thus the people are the court of final appeal, politically; the Supreme Court, judicially; but in its action Congress is absolutely independent, and there can be no immediate check upon it.

If the present complication should continue till the next Presidential election and by the votes of the ten unrepresented States being counted out, a Republican President should be elected, there might indeed be danger or an attempt at revolution. But we have good reason to hope that before 1867 the controversy will be settled and the Southern States restored to their position in the Union by the adoption of the pending Constitutional Amendment. Those who would avert all danger of revolution and civil war should give their influence for this final settlement, to which the people have given their sanction and declared their purpose inflexibly to adhere.

THE NEXT ISSUE.

The *Commonwealth*, in an article on The Next Issue, says:

The danger to the success of the question of impartial suffrage to be apprehended at present is the near approach of the Presidential election. All the cowards, and dodgers, and old women of the party, and the hangers-on, generally—men without convictions, and without enthusiasm—will soon shriek out that we are endangering the election in doubtful States by presenting this issue. A "more convenient season" for them for radical ideas is always in the dim future. But over a year of time before the nomination is likely to be made is given to us who believe in impartial suffrage to surcharge the public mind with arguments and facts in support of this great measure of justice and security. We know that its advocates in Congress will work with a will for the dissemination of their views. We who are without can greatly aid their efforts in demanding a practical application of their theories to the settlement of the question of restoration now before the country. And we shall be false to every conviction of duty, of interest, and of permanent peace, if we do not steadily, consistently, and with our best efforts, keep this demand before the country.

JEFF. DAVIS'S BIOGRAPHER APPOINTED BY ANDREW JOHNSON.

The most significant proscription since the elections is exposed in the following article from the Newark (N. J.) *Courier* of Saturday:

Our citizens were somewhat surprised this morning by the announcement that Dr. Craven, author of "Prison Life of Jeff. Davis," had been appointed postmaster at Newark. Some months since, when Postmaster Price sent in his resignation, Gen. Ezra A. Carman was appointed, and his appointment confirmed by the Senate. It appears, however, that subsequently Gen. Carman refused to give an unqualified endorsement of "My Policy," declining to notice a circular invitation to the Philadelphia Convention, and as a result, his commission was withheld, although his bonds were regularly forwarded immediately upon his appointment.

It was nevertheless believed that Gen. Carman would ultimately be commissioned, especially as his personal relations with some of the President's advisers were known to be of an intimate and friendly character. This expectation, however, proves to have been erroneous. Mr. Johnson, in his obstinate apostacy to principle, has been unable to forgive Gen. Carman's refusal to follow him into the mire and abandon the cause for which he fought, and now deliberately transfers the appointment in question to one who can present this fact only as his claim to favor—namely, that he can swallow "My Policy" with all its abominations, without a single grimace.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1866.

THE IMPENDING DANGER.

A RENEWED outbreak of war is by no means an improbable event. The President has been thwarted in his appeal to the people of the North to send to Washington a Johnson Congress. He is thoroughly committed before the public as the champion of the discomfitted rebel leaders. It is plain enough that in their interest he seeks by any available means, no matter how unscrupulous or violent, the triumph of what he terms his "policy." Under his leadership the temporarily paralyzed energy of the rebellion is being steadily awakened to an increased, defiant activity. In the Gulf States there is neither safety for the persons, nor security for the property of loyal, radical Unionists. Murderous outrages against both the blacks and the loyal whites are fearfully and increasingly frequent. In Maryland none would have been surprised during the past week to have heard the news of war. The forces are preparing on both sides. A renewal of the conflict in the field is not desired by the masses on either side. The wounds of the past strife are not yet healed, and there is mourning fresh in every household.

But President Johnson has shown himself equal to any kind of an adventure which may promise to his distorted vision success for his schemes. It would be easy for him to bring on a conflict. Whether it be in Baltimore or somewhere else, if his rebel advisers can succeed in impressing him with the idea of advantage for his "policy," he will not hesitate to take any warlike step. His Douglas tour humiliated and shamed the nation, and damaged his own cause. Another appeal to arms would end only in the ultimate subjection of the rebel forces, whether led by Gen. Grant under the direction of President Johnson, or by Gen. Lee. The loyal forces preponderate and would triumph again as before, but through new complications and with great additional suffering. From this to December only the emphatic expression of popular feeling through the press, from the platform and the pulpit, can be relied upon to restrain the maddened, besotted Executive from excess.

If Congress is able to reassemble at the usual date in December, its duty is manifest. Enough has already transpired without waiting for other overt acts to make the impeachment of the President a paramount duty. IT IS THE ONE STEP WHICH MUST BE TAKEN TO REACH THE END OF REBELLION. President Johnson has deliberatly joined the rebel leaders. When the fact became clearly apparent at the Philadelphia Convention even the Confederate bonds in London felt its impulse. Rebellion is to-day triumphant in his treachery. Until Andrew Johnson has been removed from office, the rebellion will not have been suppressed. If Congress will promptly do its duty in this respect the victory yet to be won *may* be achieved without additional bloodshed. There is great danger that the McClellan policy will prevail in Congress and that a movement for impeachment will be delayed, if not put off altogether. This is foreshadowed by the attitude of the conservative Republican journals, such as the Springfield *Republican*, the Albany *Evening Journal*, and the *Evening Post*. These journals were all ready to go with Johnson, desert the negro and reinstate the rebel leaders without conditions, but are now the conservators of Congressional policy. They ought not longer to possess weight with members of Congress, but there is danger that the people will again be ignored and these false lights followed. The nation cannot afford to wait two years for the term of a drunken, traitor President to expire by limitation. It can retrieve its disgrace in the eyes of other nations only by an impeachment. The present responsibility promptly met, a second offence would probably never come. Though our ship of State is in great peril, laboring heavily in a troubled sea, with worse than no pilot, by throwing overboard the present head of the rebellion, and promptly putting the helm in sober, loyal hands, shipwreck can be avoided.

If this be done, we have then but to throw out the anchor of JUSTICE, and all will be well. There can be no permanent safety or happiness for the nation short of this. It has deliberately made merchandize of men, women and children for many years, until its sins had become manifold. The past strife has been a stern discipline; chattelism is nominally, not certainly, at an end, but still justice is withheld. In equal civil and political rights and equal social and educational opportunities for the negro is our only safety and our only hope.

We print a portion of the proceedings of the State Convention of Colored Men held at Albany last week. An Address to the Colored Citizens of the State, and the remarks of Senator Colvin of Albany we may present in a subsequent number. The Convention was not, in all respects, what it might and should have been, but it will be a valuable help in awakening an interest on the subject of impartial suffrage in connection with the revision of our State Constitution. A correspondent of the *Tribune* says:

"The Convention was certainly composed of an earnest body of men. Every speech and vote was given as bearing directly or indirectly on the great question of liberty for the race. In all that pertains to freedom, to enfranchisement, to impartial privileges, they were jealous with a great jealousy."

THE SITUATION.

OCTOBER 15, 1866.

DEAR MR. PHILLIPS: Let me present the following views on "the situation" for your consideration.

The Republican party has fought the battle on the basis of the Constitutional Amendment and won it. It stands pledged to let the South in on those terms, and there is no hope that the politicians who control the party will take any higher ground, no matter what Kelley, Stevens or Boutwell may propose. That Amendment will be adopted by all the loyal States—and by all or most of the rebel States as their only hope of regaining any power in the government, and before the 4th of march next we shall see every one of them represented in Congress. The negro is to be left uncared for, and the prospect is hopeless for him unless we can *trade* with the South in his behalf.

You know that Section 3 of the Amendment gives Congress the power to remove the disabilities imposed therein, by a two-thirds vote. Under the language used the disability can as well be removed by a general Amnesty Act as by special legislation. Now this section disfranchises, at least temporarily, almost all the social and political *heads* in every community throughout the South. In order to avoid this disability to hold office, will they not pay the price of negro, or impartial suffrage?

Let Congress by resolution declare that the disabilities shall be removed in every State by general act, as soon as an ordinance is ratified therein giving impartial suffrage, and the leaders of Southern opinion will, I have reason to believe, accept the arrangement. They would also have the additional incentive, that the representation of the South would thus be placed on an equal footing with the other States.

This is the only way in which I can see that anything is to be gained for the negro, under the fatal policy to which the Republican party is committed. In the way I propose the South gets amnesty and we get the only guarantee that is worth anything—the suffrage of the loyal black.

I have information that prominent South Carolinians will go in for this, if the Radical party will agree to it. It seems to me this is the policy for us. What do you think?

The foregoing letter, from one of the most astute observers of national affairs, explains itself. We see no great objection, and should cheerfully consent to the proposed arrangement on one condition, that suffrage be guaranteed to the negro by the United States Constitution. We distrust all Southern State Constitutions. They could be changed, fairly or by fraud, at any time. Indeed we object to all recognition of the existence of Southern STATES at all. According to our theory, there exists outside of the loyal States nothing but territories and people. In due time we trust Congress will take measures for the formation of State governments in the Territories of Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, etc. At present none exist. We hope none will be permitted to exist till the United States Constitution secures suffrage, both in State and Federal matters, to every citizen without distinction of race or color.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

OBITUARY.

DEATH OF AN OLD PRINTER.—Mr. James Brown Yerrinton, a well known printer of this city, died at his residence in Chelsea, on Tuesday, Oct. 16, at the age of 66. He leaves a widow and five sons and a daughter. Among the sons is Mr. Yerrinton, the well-known phonographic reporter. Mr. Yerrinton and his son were the publishers of the *Liberator* the last quarter of a century of its existence. He learned his trade at Providence, in the office of Mr. Hugh Brown, and was a fellow-apprentice with Professor James D. Knowles. In early life, in connection with Mr. William Godell, he established the *Philanthropist and Investigator*, a paper devoted to the interests of general reformatory objects, which was published in both Boston and Providence. Subsequently he was editor and publisher of the Amherst *Gazette*. During the eight years of the existence of the Boston *Daily Advocate*, he was employed in that office as foreman. From this he went to the *Liberator*, where he remained until it ceased to exist. Mr. Yerrinton was highly esteemed and made a friend wherever he had an acquaintance. Until recently his life had been singularly free of sickness.—*Boston Post.*

Mr. Yerrinton was too well known to all the veteran laborers in our cause to need any eulogy from us. His name has long been a household word; his marked features and person familiar and endeared to us all. I have known him for a quarter of a century, and personally owe him more kind offices than I have words to acknowledge. He was one of the earliest and most unselfish of the Abolitionists. Broad in his sympathies he wrought long and well in all kindred reforms—Temperance, Peace, the Rights of Woman, the Amelioration of Penal Law, Progress in Theological Speculation, in Medical Art and all Social Science. As years gathered on him he grew only younger in heart, more and more liberally receptive of all new ideas. Patient of labor, tireless in devotion, contented with few pleasures, serenely confident in the final triumph of truth and right, he exemplified Goethe's description of a well-balanced man—"without haste, without rest."

Serene confidence was one of his marked characteristics. No dangers, no obstacles, no seeming defeat, no mountainous majority in opposition disturbed, in the least, his quiet faith.

A loyal friend, a comrade always ready to take his full share of toil and responsibility, a skilful workman, what his hand found to do he did with his whole heart. The *Liberator*, in its days of want and peril, needed just such a patient, unselfish, unyielding and fearless publisher. His name will always be honorably connected with that most illustrious of all American journals; a great honor, and one he richly earned. No man ever more thoroughly filled his post. With the cessation of that journal it seemed as if his life stopped. Robust till then, and with no marked illness afterward, buoyant with the delight of his life's purpose accomplished, as he judged it, still, with that work completed, it seemed as if his life went out. After seeking, in change of air and visits to old familiar places, relaxation and more strength, he came, seemingly by accident, to spend a day under his son's roof. There he, tended by most loving hands, surrounded by those dearest to him, God took him to himself. We who knew him know how few have better earned the "Well done, good and faithful servant."

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THERE have been indications for some time past of serious trouble in Maryland. Gov. Swann of that State, like President Johnson, has "swung around the circle" and betrayed the party which entrusted him with power. He seeks a position in the U. S. Senate as a "my policy" man, and to that end is endeavoring by inviting a rebel vote, to gain possession of the State government in defiance of the amended State Constitution which forbids the registration of those known to have been actively in sympathy with the rebellion.

The Baltimore Police Commissioners, who are responsible for the registration in the city, refuse to be parties to the Governor's treachery, and he threatens their removal—without any other sufficient cause. This flagrant usurpation the loyal people are determined to resist by force if necessary. A conflict of armed forces has, until within a day or two, seemed inevitable. It appears probable that President Johnson is responsible in large measure for Gov. Swann's course, and that he will only hesitate in pushing the proceedings to a conflict from the fear of losing his own head. The Unionists of Maryland, who did not generally sustain Judge Bond and others of the more radical members of the Southern Loyalist's Convention in a demand for impartial suffrage, will yet see that they cannot, even in that State, afford to do without the negro vote.

GEN. GRANT, it is reported, has ordered the trial of *one* murderer of a freedman in Louisiana. It has appeared for several months past as though he regarded his mission at the South as a Military Commander substantially at an end. Murders of freedmen and of loyal whites have been committed with impunity by hundreds, if not by thousands, with no sign of proffered protection or interference from Gen. Grant at all adequate to the critical emergency. He invites attention by this solitary proceeding to the fact of his responsibility for the numerous unpunished murders which, by silent acquiescence, he has allowed and encouraged in New Orleans, Texas, and elsewhere. He cannot too soon, for his own reputation and the best interests of the nation, assert his proper authority in the still rebellious South for personal safety and good order among the people.

ON our first page will be found a recent speech by WADE HAMPTON of South Carolina, to which we invite attention. He is an outspoken, representative rebel leader, and his speech may be accepted as a fair indication of the present feeling of the ruling class in the South to which he belongs.

PERSONAL.

Mrs. Z. R. Plumb has reopened her Academy of Physical Culture at No. 82 Fifth Avenue. Her classes are rapidly filling up. Mrs. Plumb is one of the most successful and useful of the teachers of Dr. Lewis's system of Light Gymnastics.

Hon. Charles Sumner was married in Boston on Wednesday last to Mrs. Alice Hooper, daughter of Mr. Jonathan Mason, of that city, and daughter in-law of Samuel Hooper, member of Congress. Bishop Eastburn performed the ceremony. Mr. and Mrs. Sumner are spending their honeymoon at Newport.

Garibaldi has issued a circular stating that he has run in debt to the amount of some $21,000 on undertaking his expedition for the liberation of Italy, and says that though the persons to whom he is indebted do not press their demands, they nevertheless will be greatly troubled and some of them ruined by their non-payment. He therefore appeals to the public for the amount to the disgrace of the Italian government, which ought to assume the paltry debt.

Bishop Colenso, with a view to a restatement of his theological opinion, is printing the sermons which he has recently preached, and in them he plainly discards some recognized doctrines and statements. He rejects the account of the Temptation in the Wilderness as a fable; the doctrine of the Trinity, he says, belongs to a later age than that of the Apostles, the account of many of the Saviour's miracles are spurious, and there are no such beings as a devil or devils who have influence in this world.

Susan B. Anthony, now in this city, is engaged in making preliminary arrangements for a series of lectures and conventions to be held in this State during the Autumn and Winter, under the auspices of the Equal Rights Association. A Convention to inaugurate the campaign with reference to a revision of our State Constitution it is expected will be held in the city of Albany about the 2d of November. We hope our friends throughout the State will be actively interested to cooperate in the work which Miss Anthony is about to undertake.

Mrs. Frances D. Gage, in a private note dated Lambertville, N. J., Oct. 16, says: "I have been for the last month in Pa., and its Republican vote is only a symbol of the spirit of the people. True, politicians gave Geary and the congressmen their bare majorities; but the great beating heart of the Keystone State is beating with bounding pulse for a higher and holier liberty

"Than its hobling statesmen know."

The mothers and the children are growing into the strength and firmness which is the result of thoughtful conviction and conversion, and there will be no "falling from grace," because Liberty and "Equal Rights" will be as much a part of the culture of the rising generation as the alphabet in the common school. "Teach our squaws (said old Buffalo, the Indian Chief, to the missionaries), not our braves, the squaws will teach their children and we shall all be learned." It was cheering to see the mother arraigning the loyal politicians in the presence of their children.

I met one of the jurymen who helped to decide the fate of John Brown—a more ardent hater of slavery and of secession than he is to-day will be rarely found. Truly the old man's "soul goes marching on."

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, October 22d, 1866.

THE lecture recently delivered by Wendell Phillips in the "Old Bay State" course in this city has called forth much comment from the press, as it deserved, being a plain, practical statement of the method at once most direct, most appropriate and most efficient, for removing the great danger of the present time. The sympathizers with rebellion see that in this course lies the probability of speediest and most thorough defeat of their schemes, so they are out in their usual strain of bitter denunciation, alternating with appeals to partisan interests. And the more timid among the Republicans shrink from the vigorous action which Mr. Phillips recommends, seeming to believe that "such divinity doth hedge" a President, that the worst malefactions on his part are to be treated with respectful consideration. These shrink from cutting out even a cancer, and forget that the palliative treatment which they prefer "would but skin and film the ulcerous spot," leaving the disease to break out anew hereafter.

Mr. Phillips began by referring to his assertion, a year ago, on that very platform, that the South was "victorious." His declaration then was received with incredulity, and thought uncharitable and unfounded. Now, he thought, there were as few to doubt as there were last October to believe him. His duty was now, as then, to inculcate vigilance as the function of the citizen. The weakness of democracy was that the people were impatient to obtain results. They pulled up the seed to see if it had sprouted. In their eagerness to see *something* accomplished, they often sacrifice three-quarters of the real victory. Yet a misstep now, in this formative era, may bring evils which will be felt a hundred years to come.

In the lecture last year he had said that Jefferson Davis never intended to rebel, or to to leave Washington. He meant to keep the army and navy, and the flag, and the nationality. He intended that *we* should be the rebels. The effort of the South is to recover the nationality, and she has taken possession of the President for that purpose. As long ago as last June the South planned, with the aid of the Executive, to recover the ground lost by the rebellion; and the Secretary of State seems to have designed that such a course should be pursued.

Probably the North will rally around the Republican party. We must therefore ask—What does the success of the Republican party mean? What will it guarantee us for solid reconstruction? Nothing. Wilson, Kelley, Ashley, Banks, all claim impartial suffrage. Banks goes further, and says that a majority of the House of Representatives hold that ground. Why, then, did they not enact it? Individually, members of Congress speak well, but they do nothing collectively. We must say to them—*Enact* what you believe, and prevent the rebel States from joining you in Congress until 1869. Their business is to go back and *govern* this Republic, and their first act should be to impeach the President; and while that trial is going on, they should provide a substitute to fulfil the Executive function. It would be absurd to leave the army and navy in the President's hands while he is on trial, and before his innocence is established. The authority to impeach would be worthless, if the power of administration were still to be left in the accused President's hands. It would be a farce to attempt it. Impeach the President and put a substitute in his place, and then the action of government will continue without interruption.

It is a great defect of our system that the head of the government is changed but once in four years. Andrew Johnson has calculated upon having till 1869 to work in, and many Republicans seemed disposed to agree to this. Our members of Congress wait till the mischief is done, instead of taking vigorous preventive action. Henry Wilson said he knew last January that the President meant to betray us. Why did he not speak out, and tell the people so? He remained dumb, and allowed the plot to go on. This is not service to the Republic. Mr. Wilson tells us he was trying to believe, against evidence, in the President's honesty. Is that what he was sent to Congress for? Are not the people to be trusted with the full knowledge of their own affairs?

The Northern armies have conquered; but have the Northern *ideas* conquered? What is the worth of such a victory? Is it reconstruction to let Wade Hampton sit in the Senate in the sight of Charles Sumner? No! The only worthy reconstruction is to change South Carolina into the likeness of Massachusetts, so that the former will gravitate to the latter. We cannot wait two years for this process. Such delay would encourage and develop everything anti-national South of Mason and Dixon's line. My reconstruction begins to-day. The men who *saved* our institutions are the men to *govern* them.

Our Representatives always inquire how much their constituencies will bear. This, which is generally an evil, now gives some advantage, since the people are ahead of Congress in their ideas. Laws are generally passed out of the average of cowardly apprehension. But let the people now utter their verdict that the President shall be removed, and that the loyal people are to govern, and Congress will so record it.

Some people ask, by way of excuse for the quiescence they desire—What harm can the Democratic minority do? They can wait until the national enthusiasm shall cool; and meantime, the South will possess vast means for bribing legislators to recognize the confederate debt. Mr. Phillips then remarked on the insufficiency of the Constitutional Amendment, saying that the desertion of the negro proposed in it was not only unjust but iniquitous, and that the insertion of the word "male" there was an atrocious intrusion on the nineteenth century. If the public press would do its duty, these evils might be remedied.

Whose fault is it that the flag of the United States does not protect the citizen? This is not President Johnson's fault, but Gen. Grant's. No man in the country now occupies so humiliating a position as Ulysses S. Grant. Imagine the Duke of Wellington dealing with an insurrection in Dublin. Would he have joined the Queen in an excursion while that was in progress? He would have had troops in Dublin within six hours, and would have made it safe for loyal men to walk in its streets. Had not Gen. Grant men enough under his command? Why did he not ask Congress for them? He *knew* the condition of New Orleans and Memphis. Why did he not maintain order there? Would not the President allow him? Why did he not resign, and let the people know the reason why? As to the chance of a worse man being put in his place, is any one green enough to suppose that the President could lead the people against Grant, and Sherman, and Sheridan?

The country has a claim, at such a crisis, on the utmost power of every citizen. If Grant does not mean to make the South safe for loyal men he is a traitor. If he does mean it, and the President prevents, let him resign and tell the people why.

This is a revolution. This is '76 intensified. Now, at this moment, is the commencement of the struggle. The people are ready. How absurd to adjourn the contest to the 4th of March, 1869! As well might the armies of Lee and Grant, when they faced each other, have postponed the battle for thirty months. Are we to pause for lack of a precedent, when this is a new situation? It is for the people now to make the precedent, and to put the responsibility of action on men in office. Andrew Johnson is not a President but a deserter. There is no power existing here but the Legislative power. Congress ought to enact that the XLth Congress should meet on the 4th of March, 1867, for we shall be under the government of the South as soon as Congress adjourns.

Mr. Phillips said, in conclusion, that, far from teaching despondency, he urged vigilance and action. Let us use all the powers which the laws of war and the Constitution give us. Five years ago, we had a traitor in the White House who called himself an old public functionary. He has ever since been explaining why his administration was a failure. Now again we have a traitor in the White House who called himself an honest individual. Do your duty, and in 1869 *he* will be explaining why he did not succeed.

The lecture which I have thus briefly sketched not only held the large audience in fixed attention, but it was noticeable that active and general applause followed the strongest of the speaker's words. The assembly agreed in the censure of Grant as well as of Johnson, and in the duty of providing a substitute for the President while under impeachment, as well as in the act of impeachment itself.

You are aware that Richard H. Dana has resigned his post of District Attorney for the State of Massachusetts, finding that full support of the Presidential policy was expected from the incumbent of that office. The President has now offered it to George S. Hillard, Esq. When Mr. Hillard's editorial connection with the *Courier* ceased, friends solicitous for his reputation said that he had returned to a better mind, and was unwilling longer to abet the copperhead policy of that paper. If he shall accept, on the understood conditions, the post now offered him, it will appear that the judgment above stated was more charitable than just.

I see that the organs of the popular church are congratulating themselves on Mr. Henry Wilson's accession to that body, noticed in your last number. From his own statement about it, which they publish in detail, it does not appear that he has met with any recent change, or formed any new opinion, except that it is his duty to form this connection, and announce it to the public. His character, if I understand the statement he makes, does not differ from what it has been in months and years past. The only recent change is that he has joined another society. He is the same Henry Wilson, *plus* church-membership. It is fair, is it not, to inquire what effect this new connection may be expected to have upon his public action in national affairs.

Joining—*preferring* to join—a body which, while slavery lasted, was "the great bulwark of slavery," it seems probable that his connection will prove a hindrance, rather than a stimulus, to active efforts in behalf of freedom. The more devout, the more sincere he is in entering into the spirit of this new relation, the stronger the tendency will be in him to take the view of these matters which the church and the clergy, as a body, have always taken; namely, that the relation of men to the church, and the church's ideas, is of *infinitely* greater consequence than their relation to the State, and to the thing called civil and political liberty. Our freedmen, like other men, are strangers and sojourners here, seeking a better country. Will not our really most efficient aid to them be in the direction of citizenship in the next world, rather than in this? Will not our care for their souls avail more than any care for their political rights? A minister of one branch of that immense body (self-styled "Evangelical") with which Mr. Wilson has now allied himself, writes in the last New York *Observer* his ideas of what we ought to do for the freedmen in Virginia, whose destitute condition has deeply impressed him. Their distress, suffering and privation, are great. Their wants are numerous and pressing. But the things chiefly needed to be *done* for them by Northern friends, Rev. William S. Plumer thinks, are these, namely:

1. Build houses of worship and instruction for them.
2. Send them evangelical preachers and teachers.
3. Let Northern Christians help support the Southern ministers already preaching to them.
4. Help the Bible Society to give them Bibles.
5. Help the Tract Society to give them tracts.
6. Help the Sunday School Society to send its teachers to them.
7. Help the Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist Publication Societies, and the "Evangelical Knowledge Society," to send the articles which they prepare to these perishing men and women.

These seven specifications, be it observed, are not a part of Mr. Plumer's recommendation, but the whole of it. He describes and laments not only the spiritual destitution of the freedmen, but their hunger, their houseless condition, their want of work; but for these he asks no help. The things he wants *done* for them are the things above specified and no more. This is the church's view of the supply of their necessities. Will that church stimulate Mr. Wilson to demand the franchise for them? Will it stimulate him to demand and assist in an impeachment of the President, their chief oppressor? Will it assist him to make *any* advance upon the half-way position he has hitherto held? Probably not. But his future course will give us better means of judging.

NORTH.

NOTES FROM ABROAD.

NO. IV.

GRINDELWALD, Switzerland, Sept. 5, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

We left London for Switzerland on Friday, Aug. 10th, and have journeyed hither by easy stage, stopping one day at Boulogne, two in Paris, a night at Fontainbleau and Dole, a day at Neuchatel, and finally resting from our labors at Lucerne.

Our party consists of five persons, as we accepted the kind invitation of Mr. W—— R—— to travel in company with his family. Throughout the entire journey to Lucerne, we managed to keep one railway carriage entirely to ourselves, and it would have amused you to have seen us crowding around the window when the train arrived at a station, in order, by a show of heads, to prevent anybody from invading our sanctum. As the railway carriages on the Continent are only constructed for eight or nine at the most, this was quite easily accomplished. The much-dreaded passage across the English channel was made fortunately on a very quiet day, when the sea was *decently* smooth, so that people were generally quite comfortable. I had heard that there was an unprecedented number of people travelling on the Continent this Summer, and my own experience has confirmed this report. Three hundred people were packed into the little channel steamer which took us from Folkstone to Boulogne, and the captain said that he had not taken so large a number at one time for seven years. What we should have endured in a gale I leave you to imagine.

Boulogne is a very pretty French seaport town, with a long, smooth beach, fine baths, excellent hotels, and withal some very pretty views. If could almost be called an English town, since there are about 9,000 permanent English residents. It is much frequented by invalids and consumptives, who are said to derive much benefit from its delightful climate. The railway ride from Boulogne to Paris is not particularly interesting, and I found more pleasure in a book than in gazing from the window. The road passes through the town of Amiens, where the cholera has lately been raging with intense severity. As the train made a long halt, I walked about the depot and inquired of a newspaper vender if the pestilence had abated. "Ah, monsieur, c'est fini," he replied, in a tone of immense satisfaction. Whether true or not, it was a pleasure to hear him say so.

When we arrived in Paris, on the afternoon of Saturday, Aug. 11th, the whole population were preparing for the Emperor's fête, on the 15th. Upon all the avenues and boulevards, and especially on the Champs Elysée workmen were busily engaged, arranging gas jets and lanterns for the illuminations, and from all the bridges, all the public buildings, statues and public gardens waved the "tri-color." All Paris was decking itself for the grand holiday. We remained in Paris till Monday afternoon, but it rained almost all day on Sunday, so that walking about was sadly interfered with. But despite the rain and the sanctity of the day, the preparations for the fête went steadily on. To a person who has never been in Paris, the slight regard in which the Sabbath is held would both astonish and shock him. As it cleared up towards evening, in company with a friend, I took a stroll the whole length of the Champs Elysée. Amusements of all sorts were going on, and the "Avenue" was so crowded that I could hardly move along. As we slowly made our way homeward, I thought what a contrast this was to a Sabbath evening on Boston Common. What a difference religious education makes!

Leaving Paris on Monday afternoon, we got on only to Fontainbleau, in order to take a hasty glance at the ancient palace, and the magnificent gardens attached thereto. In the fish pond before the palace are fish said to be more than one hundred years old. Visitors are allowed to feed them with bread, and when a piece is thrown to them it is most comical to see the tussle for it. Hundreds of them will battle for a bit of bread an inch square, and they crowd together so, that at least twenty or thirty are entirely out of water, and wriggle and hop about on the backs of their larger and stronger neighbors. These fish know not of hooks or bait, and the ardent disciple of Isaac Walton must content himself with *imagining* what sport he *might* have here.

Starting from Fontainebleau early in the morning, the evening found us at Dôle, an old provincial town of France, where there is nothing to be seen but dingy old houses and dirty, narrow streets.

From Dôle, we went on to Neuchatel, which was our first resting-place in Switzerland. The road to this town from Dôle, passes through the Jura mountains, and is one of the finest railway rides in all Europe. The scenery for almost the whole way is most grand and picturesque.

This road was the first railway ever constructed over as high mountains. There are twenty-seven tunnels cut through the solid rock, and sometimes, when coming out of them, on looking from the window, I could see the little villages nestling far down the valley, with the sunlight resting upon them—a most beautiful sight. At times, when there was a very long curve in the road, a tunnel could be seen far off on the side of the mountain and it would seem like a small hole, from which, if the train once entered, it would never emerge again. The peasants who live in this region are principally engaged in grape-growing. The mountain sides are covered with vines, and hardly anything else is cultivated. Near some of the stations, I observed fields of Indian corn, the first I have seen since leaving America.

The last station in France is Verrières, which is at the highest point of the railway, and here is the dividing line between Switzerland and France. The train which, up to this time, has been slowly ascending an up grade (at times so steep that a boy might run along by the side), descends very rapidly again, till it returns to the level of the valley. The highest mountain in the Jura range is Mt. Dôle (5,500 ft.), and the views in these mountains, though not very grand, are a good introduction to the beauties of the higher Alps.

We stopped part of a day at Neuchatel, viewing its beautiful lake, and then continued on our way.

At Sursee, the road passes by the battle-field of "Sempach," where the Swiss defeated the Austrians, July 8th, 1386.

Finally, at 6 p. m. on Thursday, Aug. 16th, we arrived at Lucerne. It is a pretty, rather picturesque looking town, the capital of the canton of Lucerne, and is situated on the Reuss, where it emerges from the lake. Its population is 11,663. Most of the hotels and *pensions* (boarding houses) are situated just out of the main part of the town, on the beautiful lake of Lucerne. This lake is the finest one in Switzerland, owing mainly to the grand mountain scenery with which it is surrounded. On the right of Lucerne, to the south-west, rises the lofty mountain of "Pilatus," and to the left the well known mass of the "Rigi," while facing the town, on the opposite side of the lake, is the snow clad "Urner," and "Engelberger Alps." On a clear day, the view is very fine, and the sunsets are gorgeous in the extreme.

The two great excursions to be made from Lucerne are the ascent of the "Rigi" and "Pilatus." As the "Rigi" is the more popular mountain, owing to the excellent hotel on its summit, and the ease and safety of the ascent, I will endeavor to give you a short account of my excursion to it.

In company with a few friends, I took the steamboat from Lucerne at 11 a. m., and after a pleasant sail down the lake arrived at the little village of Waggis, whence the ascent is made. The height of the "Rigi" is about 5,900 ft. and the distance by walking to its summit is about 7 miles, and the time occupied, 3 hours. On horseback, it takes about the same time. Ladies sometimes ascend by what is called a *chaise a portieur*, which is a sort of chair with long handles, carried by two men.

On landing at the pier, we found horses enough drawn up to mount a respectable division of cavalry; and a charge was made upon us by the owners of said horses,

urging us to engage them for the ascent. Small boys, ranging in age from 8 to 12 years, also crowded round and pestered us with offers to carry our bags, shawls, etc. Manfully withstanding this assault, and having at length secured horses, and mounted the ladies of the party, those who preferred to walk led the advance, and we started.

The path for the first hour passes through orchards, and frequent demands were made upon our purses by girls with plates of plums and apricots, who besought us to purchase, and who ran along by the sides of the horses for ten minutes at a time. The ascent, as we left the orchards, became steeper, though never excessively so. At the end of another hour, the "Kaltbad," the lowest of the hotels (for there are three altogether) is reached, where a rest was made to refresh the horses, and to wait for those who walked. The view from this point is very good, and many families spend weeks at this hotel for the benefit of the mountain air. In forty minutes more we passed the "Staffel," another hotel, and in half an hour more, were at the "Kulm," on the top of the "Rigi." After paying the guides and porters, we lounged about, enjoying the view, and observing the people as they arrived, until the sunset.

The view from the "Rigi" embraces a circuit of 300 miles, and perhaps the most picturesque points of this magnificent scene are the lakes of Lucerne and Zug, the former of which curves in such a manner that the eye can hardly follow it. Most of the great peaks of the "Bernese Alps" are visible, prominent among which are the "Jungfrau," "Eiger" and "Finster-Aarhorn," with their eternal caps of snow. As far as the eye can see, mountains upon mountains rises upon the horizon, and the snows which perpetually glisten upon the tops of the highest, lend an additional beauty to the scene.

On the West, at the end of the lake, the town of Lucerne can be distinctly seen, and back of the town rises the grim "Pilatus," the mountain of legends. Zurich can also be distinguished.

While sitting on the little platform, on the topmost point, waiting for the sunset, I amused myself by observing the names cut upon the seats. There were names from every part of the world, even Persia and Egypt being represented, but to my surprise I found that those with U. S. A. attached outnumbered all the rest. It is needless to say that I added mine.

By the hour of sunset, a large number of people had arrived, and all made their way to the platform and around it, in order to see the sun go down. To elaborately describe this scene I would not venture. I will only say that such a sunset I never saw before, and expect never to see again. Although I have been upon higher mountains since, I have not seen a finer sunset. After it was over, everybody repaired to the hotel to dinner, and there, for the first time, I had the opportunity of observing who my fellow-visitors were. All the nations of Europe were represented, though England, France, and America predominated.

Everybody retired to bed early, in order to be up by times to see the sun *rise*, which is quite as important an event as its setting.

Half an hour before sunrise an Alpine horn is sounded through all the entries of the hotel. Then again all is noise and confusion. As the sun is known to wait for no man, people seize whatever garments are handy and rush out.

As it is generally very cold, the blankets are often snatched from the beds, and shivering individuals stand waiting, wrapped in these comfortable, but unfashionable coverings. In consequence of all this haste, impromptu toilettes of a most startling description are indulged in. I, myself, noticed one enthusiastic female with a nightcap on, and front hair done up in curl papers; and in lieu of a dress, a fantastically colored bed quilt. Another gentleman had a huge red blanket twisted about his head and body, and all that could be seen was a pair of eyes and a few straggling locks of hair. I hope he was warm. He certainly tried hard to be so. At last all are out, and await patiently the coming of the sun. To my mind, the sunrise from a mountain summit is slightly superior to the sunset. The one thing essentially beautiful about it, was the exquisite tints, of a pale pink color, cast upon the snow mountains before the coming sun. It was as if the mountains were lit up by an internal fire. And when suddenly, like an immense ball of silver fire, the sun himself burst from behind a distant peak, the mountains seemed bathed in a flood of light and warmth, while the masses of clouds, rolled together beneath our feet, as if asleep, where changed into masses of pure white snow. There is no long talking; everybody is engrossed by the scene, and here and there an exclamation of delight is heard, as all look upon that wonderful work of God's creation, the dazzling sun.

By six o'clock, we had eaten our breakfast, and by half-past six we had started on our journey down, this time all walking.

We were down in two hours and a-half, and by another path to Kussnacht, another place from which the "Rigi" is ascended, and where at nine a. m. we went aboard the steamboat, and were soon again at Lucerne. We had "done" the "Rigi," and were well pleased with our work.

Let me add, however, that it is not always so. If the weather should unfortunately become rainy or cloudy, one has all his pains for nothing. Some such hapless individual had written the following lines in the album at the hotel.

"Nine weary up-hill miles we sped,
The setting sun to see,
Sulky and grim he went to bed,
Sulky and grim went we.

"Seven sleepless hours we tossed, and then
The rising sun to see,
Sulky and grim we rose again,
Sulky and grim rose he."

While at Lucerne, I also made the ascent of "Pilatus," a thousand feet higher than the "Rigi," but the weather was very cloudy, and after getting thoroughly drenched through, we saw nothing, and in the morning hardly more. In company with a young friend, I also sailed the whole length of the lake of Lucerne, to Flüelen. The scenery about the upper part of the lake is most magnificent, and as it is approached, the precipices become almost perpendicular, and through the gorge, steep snow-clad mountains are visible in the distance. About a mile from Flüelen, a little chapel, built upon the edge of the lake, denotes the spot where Tell sprang from Gessler's boat. The water at this point is 800 feet deep. A pleasant walk from Flüelen is to Altorf, where the place is pointed out to strangers, where William Tell shot the apple from his son's head.

We spent a fortnight in Lucerne, and then left it for Grindelwald, where we are at present. Before closing this slight sketch of Lucerne and its mountains, I should mention the celebrated piece of statuary called the "Lion of Lucerne." This was executed in 1821, in memory of 25 officers and 760 soldiers of the Swiss guard, who were massacred in the defence of the Tuileries, August 10th, 1792. It is hewn out of the solid rock, and represents a dying lion (28½ feet in length) reclining in a grotto, its body transfixed by a lance, and its right paw sheltering the Bourbon city. It is by the celebrated Danish sculptor, Thorwaldsen, and is the finest piece of statuary I ever beheld.

Grindelwald (2,870 inhabitants) is a scattering village, situated in the midst of the "Bernese Oberland," and at an elevation of 3,500 feet above the level of the sea. Its chief attractions are its two extensive glaciers, which descend far into the valley, and are therefore quite easy of access. On the S. E. the valley is entirely shut in by three gigantic snow-mountains, the "Eiger" (12,249 feet), the "Mettenberg" (9,800 feet), and the "Wetterhorn," (11,580 feet). The two glaciers lie between these mountains. The upper one, though much the smaller, is the handsomer, and its crevasses are very beautiful. Above the lower glacier is what is called the "Mer de Glace" (sea of ice), a name given to the large upper basin in which the glacier is formed before it descends into the valley. The regular excursion on the lower glacier is to the "Mer de Glace," but my friend R. and myself, having done that much, and having a good guide, crossed the glacier, and climbed the "Zesenberghorn," a rocky and difficult peak, the base of which lies below the "Mer de Glace."

The view from the summit, which was reached in two hours, well repaid the danger and fatigue of the ascent. All around were great fields of broken ice and new glaciers, while we were almost in an amphitheatre of mountains, broken only by the valley of Grindelwald, of which we had a pretty view.

From Grindelwald, I also made the ascent of the "Faulhorn" (8,260 feet). From the summit of this mountain, a grand and near view of the "Bernese Oberland" is obtained. In reality, the "Faulhorn" is in the midst of them, and some of the loftiest peaks seem only a stone's throw off. It is the finest panorama of snow-mountains that I have yet beheld. There is a little inn on the summit, where accommodations for a few people may be had for a night, but very cheerless and comfortless. There is considerable snow near the top, and coming down next morning, an enterprising individual wished us to take a sled-ride down one of the snow slopes; all for 10 cts. But we respectfully declined.

There are many beautiful walks about Grindelwald, all up hill of course, and from all of which most beautiful views can be obtained.

We leave soon for Mürren, the highest village in Europe, whence young R. and myself intend making a tour on foot to all the interesting points that the time will allow.

If I come out safely, perhaps you will hear from me again. If not, you will be glad to have a respite from such long letters. Very truly, yours, E. Q. P.

THE NATIONAL UNITARIAN CONVENTION.

The annual Conference of the National Unitarian Association has lately closed its sessions in this city. The attendance was numerous, and the denomination was in its leading names, as well as its membership generally, well represented. Much of the time was occupied with matters mainly of denominational interest, and in which therefore the general public has little immediate concern.

A series of resolutions upon our national affairs was, on the last day, reported and passed. They declare sympathy with the suffering Unionists of the South, both white and black, and take ground so far as expression of sentiment and purpose is concerned, for impartial suffrage. The action thus far was gratifying, and attests some progress. Loyalty, according to the measure of the standard of republicanism and the general sentiment in the North, was distinct and emphatic in the declarations of one and another speaker in the Convention, and seemed plainly to be pervading the body.

But the resolutions have their significance more than for aught else, as indicating the drift of the public mind, the firm persuasion that is fastening upon the multitude of sober, considerate men everywhere, that there is no deliverence for us but in full justice to the black man. For there were not wanting incidents in the course of the meeting showing clearly enough that this was not a greatly courageous, but rather a timid, conservative body, and it might not be expected that it would take independent, aggressive attitude for freedom, but would act representatively, in response to the convictions and desires of the constituency.

The resolutions do not come to the old anti-slavery mark. They do not enjoin and avow an immediate and entire repentance in regard to the sin of denying our black brother the suffrage, but simply pledge "not to rest" until this is secured. In the mean time we shall of course stay in our present political connections, vote with our party and for so much as the platforms allow, praying for impartial suffrage and voting for it when others will, when the politics becomes ripe for the demand. That first thing neither the mover nor the passers of those resolutions would be prepared at present to do.

What should one naturally expect from ministers of a true gospel of atonement and redemption, but utterance of the divine word—Repent, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand; wash you, make you clean; cease to do evil; stand as witnesses for God. What but prompt abjuration of all those connections through which any might stand involved in the guilt of endorsing or giving consent to the iniquitous congressional policy, that flagrantly wicked and gratuitous denial to our brother of enjoyment of the same rights with ourselves? Why should not their voices ring with the appeal to their countrymen to put away their wickedness, and return to the ark of safety while it is yet to-day, yet possible? But alas, indeed, such words are not to be heard even from this advanced and liberal body in our American Christendom. Whoso looks to Unitarianism, as it exists in our country, to find courage and downright upstanding manliness and fidelity, will be surely enough disappointed. It is not in this or any other popular religious faith. There are earnest reformatory men in the membership, ardent friends of justice and humanity, men who would see the denomination as catholic as Truth, and aggressive as universal Right, but the indications were clear enough, especially in the attitude manifested towards Mr. Abbot's proposed amendment to the Constitution, that they were largely in the minority. As an ecclesiastical body it is timid, authority-resting and temporizing.

It is an old exhibition—this sense of God's truth and the high laws of duty, partial acknowledgment and expression of purpose as satisfaction to conscience and indulgence in exhilarating sentiment, but deferring the effort and the vital costly sacrifice to some more opportune hour. And Felix trembled in view of the claims of "righteousness and the judgment to come," but dismissed Paul for the present, saying, when I have a more convenient season I will call for thee.

The Rev. Doctor Bellows gave a public lecture on the evening following the close of the Convention, upon the present condition. It contained much that was good, spoke emphatically of the obligations the nation, on the grounds of its own preservation, owes to the negro, and is sacredly bound to fulfil; was polished, and sparkling and magnectic, both in sentiment and style very acceptable, but was pervaded by one broad vice—the lack of a true ethical standard. It was on the Republican plane altogether, did not point to the sin of the past in postponing the claims of the bondman to the considerations of national condition, and made no reference whatever to the imperative duty now to forsake all for Christ, to do immediately what our forwardness has so persistently denied, justice full and unconditional to our long-wronged brothers.

Andy Johnson was held up in contrast with Abraham Lincoln, and of course not a little to the disadvantage of the former. We had lamented Mr. Lincoln's lack of independence, his slowness and caution, disposition ever to wait for the push of the people; now we had independence enough, forwardness to assume the responsibility and make for the end in view regardless of the people. But independence in the true sense—have we ever had it from the presidential chair? Abraham Lincoln's lack was that he listened not to the mandate of Heaven, that he saw not, heard not the voice of the celestial vision, that he went on cherishing, keeping the sin, while devising and toiling to escape the consequences; that he refused to absolve himself and call upon the nation in the fear of God and genuine self-abasement to absolve itself first of all from the guilt of slavery and all its concomitants. The independence that fears and reveres the divine law, that seeks conformity thereto as above and before all constitutions, compacts and caprices and clamors of the sovereign multitude, the independence that reads its duty to glorify God and reverence and vindicate humanity, rather than first to save the American Union,—this was the independence which was the fatal lack with Abraham Lincoln. To describe Andy Johnson's wanton and malignant headiness, his determined and defiant treason as independence, is a confounding of just distinctions, a misuse of terms of which no one, not even a doctor of divinity, ought to be guilty.

Andy Johnson had, especially in his recent tour, done and said many things at which all shame must blush; Abraham Lincoln was a man of uncultured manners and unpolished speech, of inveterate turn for story and joke, yet there was no instance, well attested, on record in which he deported himself ungentlemanly. It is on record, well attested, that colored people were rigorously excluded from Mr. Lincoln's public receptions, that this act, when purposely adverted to by friends in his presence, was avowed, defended and fathered by him as having been done by his wish and inspiration. A thing unmanly, indecent, inhuman, a shame for anybody. May it be found after all in consistence with gentlemanliness?

There was the same ignoring as we found in the resolutions, of the immediate overarching duty, same tacit consent to go on with the wicked political party that denies it. Before we are through we will have universal suffrage; not, God commandeth that *now*.

The courses and policies of the two incumbents were presented in salient contrast to each other. The one careful, guarded, self-distrustful, firmly loyal, the other precipitate, confident, disloyal, sold to treason. But who may not see that the career and the political philosophy of the one is related to that of the other, as germ to ripened fruit, that the unfaithfulness of Abraham Lincoln to humanity, his paltering with justice, his postponing of the supreme obligation to considerations infinitely subordinate to that, was the opportunity and the fertile occasion for that envenomed hatred to liberty and rampant treason which we mourn in Andy Johnson to-day? Either make the tree good and his fruit good, or else make the tree corrupt and his fruit corrupt. Is it imagined that the nation which tolerates and sustains, yes, shouts its applause with loud acclaim to the partial and compromising doctrines of Abraham Lincoln, his utter ignoring of the supreme claim to the last, his specious pleading for temporizing policies and expediencies can, by any possibility, escape the rank disloyalty and flagrant wickedness that Andy Johnson reveals? Let the late and present experience be Heaven's monition, ample and final, to us on this.

Until as a nation we learn somewhat to discern and discriminate, to read the inevitable sequences of conduct, we shall not see salvation. People shrink and revolt from certain shameless and repellant spectacles, stare with amazement at their appearance and utter shouts of renunciation, but heal not the trouble, probe never to the cause. They support the idolatrous pharisaic religion that calumniates, hates and crucifies Jesus, and then regret and deplore the deed. They shower their ballots and lavish their honors upon their Abrahan Lincolns, with their policies of surrender and compromise and vital infidelity, canonize their memories when dead, and then affect surprise and indignation at their Andy Johnsons with their conspiracies of rebellion and crime, the ripened outcome and growth of these infidelities. They renounce and detest the viper, but will not smother the egg; and learned divines "snarl it up" and deepen the confusion, doing what they may to obscure and obliterate the little discernment yet remaining.

Altogether this Convention seemed much like other ecclesiastical assemblages, as they are occurring constantly up and down over our country. It compares favorably doubtless with the others, has in certain respects more attainment, growth, liberty. But the atmosphere was essentially the same; the indications were not that these persons, as a whole, were absorbingly devoted to the great problems of self-culture and utmost human improvement, warmed and filled with the inspirations to character. It was not the spirit and breath of men seized and ravished with the infinite ideal. True, there was zeal and devotion; great readiness to do and spend for the denominational purposes; but it was, in the main, zeal for the current conventional religion of the time, something ameliorated perhaps in this mould of Unitarianism, but still essentially of the same type and character. Some of the speakers discriminated, essaying to recognize marked distinction between *humanity* and the *objects of religion*.

No; for the high guides to the heavenly city, for the clear, unequivocal testimonies that shall lift and heal and save, as also for the genuine catholic church of the future, we must look outside the organizations. These denominational establishments have objects of their own to conserve and pursue, ecclesiastical and sectarian designs to compass, and these they will hold as the prime purpose of their life. They will not, any of them, rise essentially above the plane of the general mind, they may be good as guages to show its growth, but they will not take, elevate and transform it for the divine image. For such work we must look to the few isolated ones who can stand without and alone, who can be ordained to the work of evangelists for the pure uncompromising truth. The searching lessons must go home to every department of our individual and social being, transforming the person and the world.

The years shall bring the sure success, society renewed, a reformed and regenerated nation; and the church of the future, the new Jerusalem shall come down from God out of heaven, the men and the women who have solitarily journeyed on and wrought and achieved, assimilated and brought together in a high purpose, baptized into unity. That church whose communions are the fellowships of souls, the bond of co-laborers for humanity, whose scripture is the broad unlimited Truth of God, whose ritual is virtue, whose worship and salvation exalted life. God speed the joyous hour! C. D. B. M.

Syracuse, Oct. 16th, 1866.

FROM FLORIDA.

LETTER FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.

To the Editor of the Standard:

As anticipated in a former letter, "my policy" has triumphed here in the matter of ejecting tenants from houses sold for non-payment of taxes, while the rebels who had owned them were engaged in their desperate game of treason and slaughter in 1862 and 1863. In the beginning of the lawless proceedings, a colored man was peremptorily ordered by Col. Barlow to vacate a house purchased at a tax sale. In this case the authority doubtless came direct from Washington, without any process of pretended civil law or sham sheriff. In other cases, where the rights of loyal persons were to be "crushed out," after one or two proclamations of "peace" and "civil law" had been issued from the White House, a more indirect plan to carry out the "policy" was adopted.

The manner in which the rebels obtained possession of the house in which the writer of this was a tenant, deserves notice. It may be instructive to all, especially U. S. Senators, who yet have faith in Southern professions of honor or in Philadelphia resolutions of loyalty. About the 8th of August, a person, whom the "reconstructed" Floridians delight to speak of as the Hon. Wilkinson Call, applied to the agent of the house, hired rooms and moved his family into it, agreeing to pay a stipulated sum monthly for rent. One or two days after, the "Hon. Senator" signed a paper drawn up, it was supposed, by himself, agreeing to pay rent to the rebel claimant, and acknowledging him as his landlord and the owner of the house. This paper, signed by the "Senator," and an order of the rebel Court, it was hoped would be sufficient to enable them to get possession of the house. Accordingly, I was called upon by the so-called sheriff, and required to sign the Senator's paper and obey the order of the Court. He was informed that he could not be gratified. I had not acknowledged the right of the unreconstructed State of Florida to dispossess loyal persons of property purchased of the United States, and he was informed that I considered the attempt to do it, a treasonable act, whether it was by authority of Andrew Johnson or any other person, unless it was by due process of law. The sheriff politely answered that he did not "care a cuss" whether I acknowledged the State laws of Florida or not, but if I did not obey them, he would put my things into the street the next day. The same day the "Hon. Senator Call," who, we are informed, is destined to "take a high position on the floor of the U. S. Senate" took his departure to attend the Johnson Convention at Philadelphia as a delegate to vote for those patriotic and loyal resolutions. Senators and Representatives of the United States will not need to be reminded in this connection of the story of the Greeks and the celebrated Ttrojan Horse. Col. Barlow, commanding at Fort Clinch, was appealed to. He could only advise that no further steps be taken to get possession of the house by the sheriff until higher authority should decide, and the matter was referred to Gen. Foster at Tallahassee, who wrote under date of August 7th: "I approve the action of Col. Barlow and desire that no further steps be taken to obtain more complete control of the premises until the decision of the U. S. District Court in this case be known. If such steps be taken, I shall not feel authorized to resist them by military force." Now, every rebel who thanks his "god" for Andrew Johnson's policy, really has respect for nothing belonging to the United States except military force, just what Gen. Foster did not feel authorized to use—so when it was seen that "my policy" gave them permission, they had only to summon as many red-handed rebels as the county could furnish, to support the "sheriff" in the execution of his purpose—which they were not long in making preparation to do. When Mr. Johnson's sheriff made his appearance some days later and stationed a portion of the posse of mild gentlemen of Nassau county in a building opposite, preparatory to the execution of his bogus writ, Rev. Mr. Emerson happening to call just at that time, I suggested to him that he had better leave or he might share the fate of Mr. Horton at New Orleans. A colored man, also, who had called on business, was advised to leave, lest it might be thought that the sheriff was to be resisted and we be saluted with pistol shots instead of Nassau county writs of ejection. We had neither one or the other, the sheriff came in and asked me if I intended to make him remove all the articles in the rooms. I answered he must go on; until I was assured that he was in earnest, for I did not wish to believe that he would complete the illegal process; so he ordered his assistants to clear the rooms, and I could only look on and protest against the lawless outrage. This, as was soon learnt was only a beginning of what the Johnsonites intended to do, but it was soon seen that the people were getting too much excited to tolerate such high-handed proceedings, and the next day, when it was seen that the rebels intended to turn half the loyal people into the street, forbearance was out of the question; and when the sheriff went to eject a colored family he was met with such demonstrations of resistance that he thought proper to desist. In the meantime, representations were made to Col. Barlow of the great danger of bloodshed, and he was induced to take the responsibility of ordering the sheriff to make no more attempts to execute the writ or any others of similar character. Thus matters stand here at this time. Johnson no doubt will be appealed to, as the rebels are desperately determined to get this property if possible before the meeting of Congress. A. A. G.

Fernandina, Fla., Sept. 26th, 1866.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY ON THE AMENDMENT.

Among those in attendance at the recent State Convention of colored men at Albany was our friend Susan B. Anthony. She was foolishly denied admission to the Convention as an honorary member on the ground of sex, but was permitted to speak. The *Tribune* correspondent furnishes a synopsis of her remarks which we present below. The resolution under consideration was one which had been offered indorsing the Reconstruction policy of Congress. The correspondent says:

Miss Anthony was given permission to address the Convention. She spoke substantially as follows:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: I felt that when this resolution was placed before me, I could no longer keep silence. To-day my eye fell upon the address of the Committee appointed by the Southern Loyalists Convention to visit the North and the tomb of Abraham Lincoln. These men say to us that the one great impending danger to this country is in the temptation to the North to commit itself to the Constitutional Amendment. Fellow-citizens, for I am to be a citizen some day, I fully expect it—it is not for you who have come here into convention, it is not for you to indorse such an Amendment as this. It is a wicked compromise—one of the most wicked ever submitted to the people—a compromise by which the advocates of slavery will hold the 4,000,000 of people hitherto slaves in a vassalage worse than the original slavery from which they have emerged. It is a compromise by which these former oppressors of the slave will have power to say whether the brave Robert Small or the gallant Sutton shall have the right to vote or no. Therefore I could not keep silent when a resolution for the indorsement of such an amendment was submitted to this Convention. No, never let the colored men of New York say Amen to that Constitutional Amendment. Such action is simply helping to place the halter round your neck—helping to place you in a condition worse than slavery—worse, for in slavery the slave-owners had a sort of selfish interest in the physical well-being of the slave. Now even this will go. Therefore I beg you not to indorse this Amendment. If it had added suffrage to the negroes it would have been well. But in this Congress failed. This and reconstruction might have been gained in a much simpler way. One of the few things Congress need have done was the striking out of the three-fifths representation clause from the Constitution. Many of the good and loyal people hesitate in this matter; they say grant so and so, and the South will enfranchise the negroes. The South will not do this. The South, having the negroes in their power, will never give them the franchise. The Amendment is a political trap. Place yourselves upon the plantations and consider what would be your decision upon this measure. Think well before you give your sanction to such a scheme.

LITERARY.

The *North British Review* (Leonard Scott Publishing Co., New York) has articles upon Mr. George McDonald's Novels; Sir William Rowan Hamilton; Recent Humorists: Aytoun, Peacock, Prout; The Ethics of Aristotle; The English Pulpit; Meteorology, Past and Present; George Eliot's Novels; and Keble and "the Christian Year."

Littell's Living Age, No. 29 of the Fourth Series, contains New Pictures by Richards; Ball's Statue of Abraham Lincoln, Leutze's New Pictures; Recent Humorists: Aytoun, Peacock, Prout; Madonna Mary, Part IX.; Voltaire and his Valet; Philosophers and Negroes; The Uses of Fiction; Recovery of the Atlantic Cable; Mozley on Miracles; The Boston Transcript; Poetry: The Meadow Brook, The Dawn, The Tunnel, Mignonette, Echo Praed's Charade; Short Articles; Eliana; Swinburne's Poems and Ballads.

Littell, Son & Co., Boston.

The *Atlantic* for November is on our table. It has articles by Henry W. Longfellow, Charles Reade, J. H. A. Bone, the author of "Herman," C. C. Hazewell, Robert Carter, Charlotte P. Hawes, Gen. H. B. Sargent, and others. The Prospectus for 1867 announces that Oliver Wendell Holmes will contribute a romance of New England life, a story of the present, entitled "The Guardian Angel," to extend through the year. James Parton will furnish a series of Biographical Papers and of Industrial Articles upon prominent and peculiar American manufactures. James Russell Lowell will write during the year regularly. His contributions will consist both of prose and poetry. Bayard Taylor, who is about to visit Europe, will send from there a series of sketches of "The By-Ways of Europe." Mr. Taylor will also furnish during the year other sketches in prose upon miscellaneous topics. Thomas Wentworth Higginson will supply several of those charming sketches of out-door life and natural scenery which have made him so acceptable a contributor in years past.

Ticknor and Fields, Boston.

Messrs. Lippincott & Co. of Philadelphia are getting out a volume of poems by Mrs. Frances D. Gage. The book will be about the size of Whittier's "War-Time," two hundred and sixty or seventy pages, neatly bound, and will retail at $1.50 per copy. It is published by subscription and will be sent by mail or express to those who remit to the author at Lambertville, N. J., or to the publishers. The book will go out with the unpretending title, "Poems by F. D. Gage," and will be ready by or before the Holidays. To our readers, who are familiar with Mrs. Gage as a writer and as a coworker for equal human rights, no word of commendation is necessary. We trust the subscribers for the book will be numerous, and that mutual benefit may accrue to themselves and to the author.

Ticknor & Fields will publish the following illustrated works this Fall: Whittier's "Maud Muller," with thirteen illustrations by Hennessy; a new volume by Longfellow, entitled "Flower-de-Luce and other Poems," with six illustrations by various artists; Longfellow's "Evangeline," with ten illustrations by Darley; and Lowell's "Vision of Sir Launfel," with eleven illustrations by Eytinge. Special arrangements have been made for the supply of illustrated and holiday works, and books in fine bindings, at the New York agency of this house, 63 Bleecker street, near Broadway, where price-catalogues may be obtained. Mr. B. H. Ticknor, the New York agent, will also receive subscriptions for the *North American Review*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Our Young Folks*, and *Every Saturday*.

Our Young Folks for November is full of pleasant reading for the children. The following is the table of contents: Floriuda and Florindel, from the German of Grimm, with full-page colored illustration; Cow-Birds and Cuckoos; A Summer in Leslie Goldthwaite's Life, by Mrs. Whitney; The Girl and the Gleaner, by Maria S. Cummins; The Two Herd-Boys, by Bayard Taylor; Thanksgiving, by Mary F. Miller; Little Pussy Willow, by Mrs. H. B. Stowe; Half-Hours with Father Brighthopes, by J. T. Trowbridge; Afloat in the Forest, Conclusion, by Mayne Reid; Lessons in Magic—containing explanation of the mystery of the "Sphinx;" The Dream of the Sangreal, by Annie T. Wall; The King of the World, by Elsie Teller; Round the Evening Lamp and Our Letter-Box.

"The American Slave Mart."—Mr. Thomas Noble, one of Couture's pupils, and an artist of distinction, has removed from St. Louis to this city, and is temporarily sojourning with Loop, at the Dodworth Building. Mr. Noble has nearly completed and will soon exhibit a large picture entitled "The American Slave Mart." The subject was suggested to Mr. Noble while witnessing the last auction sale of slaves held in St. Louis, on the court-house steps, in 1859; but he does not confine the spectacle to any special place. A more significant theme cannot well be imagined for the pencil of the artist, and in this instance it has been treated with full knowledge of the facts, and with a masterly power.—*Evening Post.*

The office of The Standard is at No. 39 Nassau street, Room 43. Office hours—9 a. m. to 3 p. m. Editors office hours—10 a. m. to 1 p. m.

Letters for Susan B. Anthony should be addressed hereafter to 464 West 34th st., New York.

Advertisements.

REMOVAL NOTICE.

The office of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society has been removed from No. 5 South Fifth street, to the old stand, No. 107 North Fifth street, where it was formerly located for upwards of twenty years. Specimen numbers of the Anti-Slavery Standard furnished and new subscriptions received as above.

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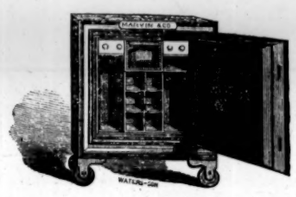

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AUTUMN SUNSHINE.

Mild as the glances of angel eyes,
Soft as the kisses of first born love,
Down through the haze of these Autumn skies
Comes the glad sunshine from realms above.

Beautiful pictures it sketcheth now,
Touched with the glowing hues of old,
Painting the valley and mountain's brow
With purple and opal and red and gold.

A whisper of beauty the spirit fills,
Tales of a land that fadeth never,
Sunshine that gildeth the beautiful hills,
Over the bank of the shadowy river.

Beautiful rest for the weary soul,
Earth hath no beauty akin to this!
Anthems of gladness for ever roll
Over these halcyon plains of bliss.

Down the steeps of life's western hill,
Beautiful sunshine of hope and light,
Every shadow of hope dispel,
Lift my spirit from realms of night.

Soft as the beams of the Autumn sun,
Sweet as the death of the summer flowers,
Gather thy jewels one by one,
Take my soul to those fadeless bowers.

UNIVERSAL PEACE SOCIETY.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 10th, 1866.

PREPARATORY to the meeting of the Universal Peace Society, at the Franklin Institute Hall, yesterday afternoon, there was an organization of a Branch Society for the State of Pennsylvania. George W. Taylor was chosen for President, and Alfred B. Justice for Secretary. A Constitution was adopted, the preamble of which sets forth that the time has come for the spread of the principles upon which the National Society is founded, to wit: "To remove the causes and abolish the customs of war; to discountenance all resorts to deadly force between individuals, States or nations, never acquiescing in present wrongs." Among the persons who took part in the organization of the Pennsylvania Society were Alfred B. Love, Lucretia Mott, Dr. Child, and Wm. J. Mullen.

The Universal Peace Society assembled at 3 o'clock. Mr. Alfred H. Love, the President, on taking the chair, gave a history of the movement which resulted in the organization of the present Society on the principles of universal peace, in May last, in the city of Providence, R. I. The proceedings of the Providence meeting were then read and approved. In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. E. B. Chase was appointed Assistant Secretary.

The President invited the co-operation of all persons present, and offered for gratuitous distribution a number of pamphlets declaratory of the principles of the Society.

A letter from Mr. E. H. Heywood was then read, on the various reforms needed for the promotion of peace among men. The reading of this letter was followed by remarks from L. K. Joslin, in refutation of the idea that in some conditions of society war is needful, and peace not at all lamentable or desirable.

A letter from H. C. Wright was then read, advocating the principle and practice of entire self-sacrifice—the preference to die rather than kill—to suffer wrong always, rather than inflict it.

A letter from J. P. Blanchard, the Treasurer of the Society, was also read, expressing an unalterable faith in the principles of peace and love, and also regretting his inability to serve as an officer any more, by reason of the infirmities of age.

A resolution of thanks to the late Treasurer was then passed.

Several other letters were announced as having been received [illegible] out of time they were not read.

The Secretary then read reports from Massachusetts and Rhode Island, of the formation of State Societies auxiliary to the Universal Peace Society. The report of a movement in Europe, holding its meetings in Antwerp, was read by the Secretary.

This was followed by remarks from L. K. Joslin, comparing the progress of peace principles in Europe and America, in which he declared it to be his belief that since the commencement of the late war, the cause of peace in Europe is in advance of our own country.

The report of a meeting held in Vineland was read, followed by a statement concerning the state of the cause in that new settlement.

The President reported a Pennsylvania branch of the Society as in progress of formation, but not yet complete.

Lucretia Mott spoke at considerable length on the general question, in which she denied that while we leave to individual conscience the decision of the question how far we may, for peaceful purposes, co-operate with the government, we should steadily maintain the absolute truth, and she thought there was much evidence that the various conventions and meetings in advocacy of the change which is really manifest in families, in schools and elsewhere, that the spirit of violence is less violent than formerly, and, as in the anti-slavery movement, the emancipation of the slave was effected before the whole people were imbued with the anti-slavery spirit, so it may be hoped that the settlement of difficulties will be effected by moral means, even if we do not find the whole world adopting our radical views.

Short addresses were then made by Rev. Howard Malcolm and others. A motion was adopted to enlarge the number of the Executive Committee to twenty, and a committee was appointed to nominate the additional members.

Mr. Robert F. Wallcot, of Boston, was then elected Treasurer of the Society, in place of Mr. Blanchard, resigned.

The Society then adjourned till evening.

EVENING SESSION.—The Society reassembled at 8 o'clock in the evening, President Love in the chair. Several additional members of the Executive Committee were then nominated and elected. A letter from Mrs. M. S. Townsend, of Bridgeport, Conn., was read, in advocacy of the principles held out by the Society. Mr. L. K. Joslin then addressed the meeting at length. He contended that the war power is a tissue of cruelty, and that it degraded the young men of the country. In periods of war there is very little accomplished for reforms. War, as a principle, is slavery, because it denies the inalienable right of liberty. It is torture and death. Its natural allies are stealth and robbery. Its highest morality, when it pleads morality, is evil that good may come. He believed that if all laws and governments were done away with, there would be less sacrifice by violence in the next hundred years than there was during the past five years. The advocates of war, he said, used as an argument the fact that war was old and that it came down from a long line of ancestors; but he did not deem this an argument at all.

To give an idea of the manner in which the church at the present time advocates the war principle, the speaker referred to a recent meeting of Congregational ministers at Newburyport, Mass., when Rev. Dr. Beckwith, Secretary of the American Peace Society, presented resolutions, mild in their tone, suggesting the praying for peace, which were voted down. As an individual he had no sympathy with the theory of a punishment for crime. The speaker continued at length in advocacy of the principles of peace.

The same subject was argued by Mr. G. W. Taylor, Mr. James Mott, Mrs. Lucretia Mott, Dr. Leech, Mr. Ebenezer James, and others, after which the meeting adjourned till Thursday, 11 o'clock.

THE UNIVERSAL PEACE SOCIETY.—The Universal Peace Society, after the adjournment of the Pennsylvania Branch, met in the Franklin Institute building, President Alfred H. Love in the chair, 3 p.m.

The Chairman, on opening the meeting, alluded to the depressing influence of the disagreeable weather, and to the intelligence received that the President has propounded to the Attorney-General certain questions which may result in involving our country in difficulties and distress such as we have never yet experienced. He drew from these facts the conclusion that there are indications that we have a work before us which ought to be zealously prosecuted.

L. K. Joslyn, of Providence, then offered an amendment to the Constitution, which, after explanation by the President and Dr. Child, was adopted.

A letter was read from Gerrit Smith, in which he expresses much interest in the movement, but confesses himself still somewhat undecided in regard to the absolute sacredness of human life under all circumstances.

Mr. Jonathan Magill, of Pennsylvania, followed the reading of the letter by remarking that although Mr. Smith still needs light on this subject, it is no cause of discouragement to us, and Gerrit Smith will some time be reached by the light he needs.

A series of resolutions favoring peace, adopted at the meeting in Boston, Mass., were taken up separately and thoroughly discussed by George W. Taylor, Jonathan Magill, Henry T. Child, Lucretia Mott, Rachel Moore, Olivia F. Stephens, L. K. Joslyn and E. B. Chase, after which they were adopted.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Resolved, that all human beings are the offspring of one infinite, all-perfect Father; that they all belong to the same general family; that, as individual entities, they are all of inestimable worth; and that, though distinguished by multiform differences, they are all essentially co-equal in their natural rights.

2. Resolved, That all human beings are the bounden subjects of one supreme divine moral law, which requires them severally to love their Heavenly Father with all their powers, and each other as themselves; and that this love worketh no ill to its objects.

3. Resolved, That a clear distinction ought always to be made between man proper, and his imperfections, whether physical, intellectual, or moral; that man proper and his highest good are always to be held absolutely sacred; that man's imperfections alone are to be assailed, resisted and overcome by all suitable means; and that *such* means are those only which legitimately promote the highest good of all parties concerned.

4. Resolved, That, in the treatment of human beings, whatever is evil for any one cannot be good for another, or for the general public good, but that the highest good of each and all must ever be the same.

5. Resolved, That all force exerted by man on man, the natural effect of which is to destroy or to impair organic life, is properly termed *deadly* force, and is *per se* evil.

6. Resolved, That all conscious, voluntary inflictions of deadly force by man on man positively disregard the good of the suffering party, and therefore must be greater or less transgressions of the supreme divine law.

7. Resolved, That all contests between human beings, wherein the parties resort to deadly force, are, of the nature of WAR, either offensive or defensive; that war is the same in principle, whether carried on between nations, States, smaller combinations, or individuals; and that all war is inherently sinful to the extent in which the contending parties respectively set at naught each other's real welfare.

8. Resolved, That no organization of human society, acting through whatever form of government authority and agency, can possess the right to set aside, or overrule the supreme divine law of love, so as to render it the absolute duty of one human being to kill, injure or harm another.

9. Resolved, That government organizations are *possible*, which shall be constitutionally confined to the use of beneficent means only; that they are destined to rise and ultimately supersede the existing war-sustained institutions, and that it is our highest duty, as well as privilege, to prepare the way for them, by precept and example.

10. Resolved, That no government organization is likely to be morally better than the average sentiment and character of its supporters; and therefore it is not to be reasonably expected that rulers will ever conform to radical Peace Principles, so long as their constituents, especially the influential classes of them, cling to war measures.

11. Resolved, That the cause of Universal Peace is based upon, and should be advocated on essential divine principles of righteousness—not on mere human expediency, or policy; that its success demands the combined influence of all that religion and moral philosophy can do for the elevation of mankind; and that it is our mission to transcend all religions and philosophies that sanction war with those purer and higher ones which insist on the supreme divine law of love in its utmost applications to inter-human conduct.

12. Resolved, That we are not bound to show that a nation or people, wedded to war measures, can practically avoid all resorts to deadly force without spoliation or disgrace, because where there is no will there is no way; but that we are able and willing to show how a nation truly converted to peace principles might maintain their rights and honor against all warlike encroachments with far less sacrifice than is necessitated by the war system.

13. Resolved, That while we acknowledge the impossibility of establishing universal peace on earth without a higher moral development of mankind, we also believe such development will be promoted if those sufficiently elevated to embrace peace principles are faithful enough to stand forth as the uncompromising advocates of those principles.

14. Resolved, That the evils of war, and its kindred resorts to deadly force throughout the world, conclusively demonstrate that the human race, even in the most civilized nations, is still semi-barbarous, and that much further progress, without the sincere adoption of radical peace principles, is impossible.

15. Resolved, That the teachings and examples of Jesus Christ, as set forth in the Scriptures of the New Testament, and as faithfully illustrated by the primitive Christian church for two centuries, gloriously testified the highest devotion to radical peace principles; that we deplore the dreadful declension which culminated in the adulterous union of the church with worldly government under Constantine in the fourth century, whose contamination has propagated itself through all succeeding ages, and that we reverence the faithful minority who have maintained true to the original peace testimonies, from generation to generation, in spite of grievous privations and persecutions.

EVENING SESSION.—The Society was called to order at 8 o'clock, President Love in the chair.

Mr. Joslyn, of the Executive Committee, reported a resolution recommending that when this Society adjourns it adjourn to meet in the city of New York, anniversary week, May next, 1867, day and place to be hereafter designated. That we recommend in the interview to the State Societies, officers, executive committee and other members of this Society active labor for the cause, by correspondence with all known friends in this and other countries, by holding public meetings for lectures and discussions in different localities, by a judicious distribution of the Society's publications, and by securing to the cause a hearing through the public journals of the country.

A letter sympathizing with the Society in their movement was read from Mr. John West. Dr. Child offered the following resolution:

That we recommend to the friends of peace everywhere to avail themselves of the public press for the dissemination of our principles. That they endeavor to procure the insertion of articles in the papers, and that a committee of five be appointed to ascertain what papers would be willing to aid us in the measure.

Dr. Child said: I hope this great cause, which belongs to humanity, shall ever be kept out of sects. I care not whether a man believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, or whether he belong to any church, if he is a true man, a lover of peace, I hail him as a fellow-laborer. I have said that man as an animal would fight; man as an intelligent animal may fight, especially if, as the Apostle James said, "Whence come wars? Come they not from your lusts, which war in your members?" But when man comes to live in his spiritual nature he will not, he cannot fight. He never has and he never can, and it is only as this portion of our nature comes to have dominion over the beast of the field and the fowls of the air that we hope for peace to prevail.

In my association with men and women I find many who have an interest in this great subject. Especially is this the case with women, who, as was well remarked, are not exposed to the same temptation. Women as an apostle of peace has a noble field of labor—first, in the family, where she may curb the bitter outburst of feeling in her children; then in society and in the State: and I hope that our friends everywhere will use every effort to bring this subject before the people. Let us dress up the anecdotes of peace in such an attractive style that the papers will be glad to publish them. Let us write articles that will be considered valuable, and the editors will be glad to have them.

Every one who utters the word peace with a strong desire to have it prevail, is doing something to promote this cause. It is not the great men and women alone who are moving the world in this direction, but every honest, earnest soul whose aspirations go forth for the coming of the day when peace shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea, is doing something to promote this good work.

The resolution was agreed to.

The President, Mr. Love, then addressed the meeting at length on the subject of Peace.

Holding governments to the object of their establishment which he contended was for peace—but that to have true peace we must be true to our declarations of equal rights and justice. He would hold Christians to their professions as followers of Christ. He presented the mockery of Church and State on the subject of Peace, and appealed for more of truth, integrity and humanity as the conditions of Peace.

Letters were read from John West, Anna E. Dickinson, and others, of Philadelphia, and from Aaron M. Powell, Editor of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, New York; L. S. Richards, Boston; Thomas Garrett, Wilmington; H. C. Wright, Boston; M. S. Townsend, Bridgeport, Conn; Thomas Haskell, Gloucester Mass., and others.

After remarks from several persons relative to the addresses and letters, the Society adjourned to meet in New York City Anniversary week (May) 1867.

SECOND DAY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA BRANCH.

A meeting of the Pennsylvania branch was held. The following permanent officers were elected: President, George Taylor; Secretary, Alfred B. Justice; Treasurer, Dr. Henry J. Child. An Executive Committee of ten members was also elected. The Preamble of the Constitution adopted appeals "to the people who acknowledge the authority of Christ, and to all who are convinced, from the sad effects of war so abundantly visible, and the evident blessings profusely showered in the paths of peace, that they should 'learn war no more,' and to urge them to co-operate with us in an earnest effort to cultivate peace in our own bosoms, to promote it among our neighbors, to engraft it upon our government, and extend its benign sway throughout the world."

Rev. William J. Mullen, who was selected as one of the officers, left it to the decision of the Society to determine whether or not he was eligible. He was emphatically a peace man, and had always inculcated peace principles, but at the outbreak of the late war he had entered the army as a chaplain and had permitted his sons to serve in the ranks. He noticed that the President had proposed certain questions to his Attorney-General, which would undoubtedly be answered according to his wishes, and would lead to civil war. In this case it would be a grave question as to whether or not they shall go to work and finish up the job which they had already commenced. The meeting then adjourned, to meet January next in Philadelphia. The day and place to be arranged by the Executive Committee.

The following is the Constitution of the Universal Peace Society:

PREAMBLE.

Whereas life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are natural, inalienable rights, subject to no human governments, but superior to all; and whereas whatever is abstractly wrong can never be practically right or be innocently encouraged, neither can persons perform collectively what is unlawful for individuals, nor serve self and country to the injury of mankind, and whereas Peace is self-control, and the abnegation of carnal weapons and the recognition of all the principles of love, justice, charity and purity make for peace, communities and States permanently unite by attraction and consent, never through coercive violence, and the sword is not an essential element of our social system, but like duelling and slavery, a relic of barbarous times and owes its prevalence to popular delusion; and whereas wise advocates of truth, believing in God, believe also in man, overcome evil with good, choose to die rather than kill; and whereas war destroys life, invades liberty, subverts good morals and the spirit and teachings of Jesus Christ, retards and defeats, rather than insures progress and the common welfare, and is a standing reproach to human nature, therefore we, the undersigned, in order to avail ourselves of the advantages of associate effort, unite in forming a Society to promote these truths, and adopt for our guidance the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This Association shall be known as the Universal Peace Society.

ART. II. Its objects shall be to remove the causes and abolish the customs of war. To discountenance all resorts to deadly force between individuals, states or nations, never acquiescing in present wrongs. By taking away the sword, give potency to the tongue and pen, and encourage moral efforts for the removal of these wrongs and evils, compromise with which renders peace impossible and undesirable. It will employ popular conventions, lectures, tracts, petitions, the pulpit, the press, and a Congress of Nations. It will use all effectual means of reason and moral appeal to convince the people that war is a sin against God and opposed to the best interests of mankind, and its immediate abandonment is alike a religious duty, the wisest expediency and an imperative necessity.

ART. III. All persons, irrespective of sex, race, condition or nationality, who subscribe to its principles and contribute to its funds shall be regarded as members of this association and entitled to a voice and vote in its meetings. And that no one shall be compromised by any vote of the majority, such minority may be recorded whenever requested.

ART. IV. Its officers shall be elected annually and consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, and Auditor, who shall perform the customary duties of their respective offices; and of an Executive Committee of not less than five or over twelve members.

ART. V. The Executive Committee shall have power to enact their own by-laws, fill any vacancy in their body, or in the offices of Secretary and Treasurer, employ agents and publishers, direct the Treasurer in the applications of all moneys, and call special meetings of the Society. They shall arrange for general Conventions of the Society and make an annual report of their doings, of the expenditures and funds of the Society, and adopt the most energetic measures in their power to advance its objects.

ART. VI. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held at such time and place as the Executive Committee may direct, when the account of the Treasurer shall be presented, the annual report read, appropriate addresses delivered, and such other business transacted as may be deemed expedient.

ART. VII. All Associations having the same principles and purposes, may become auxiliary to this Society, and their members shall be entitled to equitable representation in its meetings. The public Conventions of this Society shall allow freedom of criticism and dissent, and respect diversities of opinion as tending to the development and establishing of truth.

ART. VIII. This Constitution may be amended at any regular meeting of the Society by a vote of two-thirds of the members present, provided the changes have been previously submitted to the Society in regular session or to the Executive Committee.

President—ALFRED H. LOVE, of Philadelphia.

Vice-Presidents—L. K. Joslin, of Providence, R. I.; A. B. Child, M.D., of Boston, Mass.; Ezra H. Heywood, of Worcester, Mass.; Wm. Chase, Providence, R. I.; Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia; Judge A. G. W. Carter, Cincinnatti, Ohio; E. A. Webb, New Hampshire; Joseph A. Dugdale, Mount Pleasant, Iowa.

Corresponding Secretary—Lysander S. Richards, of Boston, Mass.

Recording Secretary—Miss Laura Bliven, of Providence, R. I.

Treasurer—Joshua P. Blanchard, of Boston, Mass.

DONT GIVE UP.—In most cases the wise and good man will come down, but never give up. The heroic thing to say is this: Things are bad, but they may be worse; and with God's blessings I shall try to make them better. Who does not know that by resolute adherence to this principle, many battles have been won after they had been lost? Don't the French say that the English have conquered on many fields because they did not know when they had been beaten; in short, because they would never give up? Pluck is a great quality. Let us respect it everywhere; at least, whenever enlisted on the side of right. Ugly is the bull-dog, and indeed blackguard looking; but I admire one thing about it, it will never give up. And splendid success has often come at length to the man who fought on through failure, hoping against hope. Mr. Disraeli might well have given up after his first speech in the House of Commons; many men would never have opened their lips there again. I declare I feel something sublime in that defiant *The day will come when you will be glad to hear me*, when we read it by the light of after events. Of course, only extraordinary success could justify the words. They might have been the vaporing of a conceited fool. Galileo, compelled to appear to come down, did not give up: *Still it moves.* The great nonconformist preacher, Robert Hall, fairly broke down in his first attempt to preach; but he did not give up. Mr. Tennyson might have given up, had he been disheartened by the sharp reviews of his earliest volume. George Stephenson might also have give up, when his railway and his locomotive were laughed out of the parliamentary committee. Mr. Thackeray might have given up, when the publishers refused to have anything to do with *Vanity Fair.* The first articles of men who have become most successful periodical-writers, have been consigned to the Balaam-box. Possibly this was in some measure the cause of their success. It taught them to take more pains. It was a taking down. It showed them that their task was not so easy; if they would succeed, they must do their very best. And if they had stamina to resolve that though taken down they would not give up, the disappointment was an excellent discipline. I have known students at college whose success in carrying off honors was unexampled, who in the first one or two competitions were ignominiously beaten. Some would have given up. They only came down; then they went at their work with a will, and never were beaten more.—*Recreations of a Country Parson.*

BE FRIENDS WITH YOUR CHILDREN.—Too many parents, alas, live in a state of war, or, at best, in an armed truce with their children, as though they were enemies conspiring against the peace of home and the interest of life; and the children, finding coldness where they look for warmth, turn and look elsewhere for the sympathy and affection, the cheer and guidance, which parents neglect to give. Make your child feel that you are the best of friends, and that your "No" shuts the door on a coveted pleasure only to shut out greater ills or to make a greater happiness possible to him.

HERR HAUSSNER, a German statician, states the European wars from 1815 to 1864 cost the lives of 2,762,000 men. The wars in Europe from 1792 to 1815 cost the lives of 5,530,000 men (on an average 140,000 men a year). The seven years' war, 1756-'63 cost the lives of 886,000 men.

THORVALDSEN'S FIRST LOVE.

SOME fifty-five years ago, a young woman of prepossessing appearance was seated in a small back room of a house in Copenhagen, weeping bitterly. In her lap lay a few trinkets and other small articles, evidently keepsakes which she had received from time to time. She took up one after the other, and turned them, over but she could scarcely distinguish them through her blinding tears. Then she buried her face in her hands, and rocked to and fro in agony.

"Oh!" moaned she, "and is it come to this? All my dreams of happiness are vanished—all my hopes are dead! He will even go without bidding me farewell. Ah, Himlen! that I have lived to see this bitter day! Love vare Gud!

At this moment a hasty tap at the door was followed by the entrance of the object of her grief. He was a young man about twenty-five years of age, his person middle-sized and strongly built, his features massive, regular and attractive—his long hair flaxen, his eyes blue. This was Bertel Thorvaldsen—a name which has since then sounded throughout the world as that of the most illustrious sculptor of modern times. His step was firm and quick, his eye bright, and his features glowing as he entered the room; but when he beheld the attitude of the weeping female a shade passed over his countenance as he gently walked up to her, and laying his hand on her shoulder, murmured: "Amalie!"

"Bertel!" answered a smothered voice.

The young Dane drew a chair to her side, and silently took her tear-bedewed hands. "Amalie!" said he, after a pause broken only by her quivering sobs, "I am come to bid thee farewell. I go in the morning."

She ceased weeping, raised her face and releasing her hands, pushed back her disheveled hair. Then she wiped her eyes, and gazed on him in a way that made his own droop. "Bertel," said she in a solemn tone, but void of all reproach—"Bertel, why did you win my young heart?—why did you lead me to hope that I should become the wife of your bosom?"

"I—I always meant it; I mean it now."

She shook her head mournfully, and taking up the trinkets, continued: "Do you remember what you said when you gave me this—and this—and this?"

"What would you have, Amalie? I said I loved you: I love you still—but—"

"But you love ambition, fame, the praise of men far better!" added she bitterly.

Thorvaldsen started, and his features flushed; for he felt actually the truth of her words.

"Yes, you will leave gamle Denmark—you will leave your poor, fond old father and mother, whose only hope and only earthly joy is in you—you will leave me, and all who love the sound of your footstep, and go to the distant land, and forget us all!"

"Min Pige! you are cruel and unjust. I shall come back to my old father and mother—come back to thee, and we shall all be happy again."

"Never, Bertel!—never! When once you have gone there is no more happiness for us. In heaven we may all meet again; on earth never! O no, never more will you see in this life either your parents or your poor, broken-hearted Amalie!"—and again her sobs burst forth.

Thorvaldsen abruptly rose from his chair, and paced the room in agitation. He was much distressed, and once or twice he glanced at Amalie with evident hesitation. His past life, the pleasures of his youth, the endeared friends and scenes of his childhood, the affection of Amalie, the anguish of his parents at the approaching separation, all vividly passed in review, and whispered him to stay and be happy in the city of his birth. But a vision of Rome rose also and beckoned him thither to earn renown, wealth and immortality. The pride of conscious genius swelled his soul, and he felt that the die was cast forever.

He reseated himself by the side of Amalie, and once more took her hand. She looked up, and in one glance read his inmost thoughts. "Go," said she, "go and fulfil your destiny. God's will be done! You will become a great man—you will become the companion of princes and kings, and your name will extend the fame of your country to the uttermost parts of the earth. I see it all; and let my selfish love perish! Only promise this; when you are hereafter in the full blaze of your triumph, sometimes turn aside from the high-born, lovely dames who are thronging around, and drop one tear to the memory of the lowly Danish girl who loved you better than herself. Bertel, farewell!"

The next day Thorvaldsen quitted Copenhagen for Rome, where he resided nearly the whole remainder of his long life, and more than realized his own wild aspirations for fame. But the prophesy of poor Amalie was literally fulfilled—he never more beheld his parents, nor her, his first true love!

Nearly half a century had elapsed, and again the scene was Copenhagen. The streets were densely crowded with eager, sorrowing spectators, and every window of every house was filled with sadly-expectant faces. At length a cry, "They come!" was echoed from group to group, and the crowds swayed to and fro under the sympathetic swell of common emotion.

A withered old woman was seated at the upper window of a house, and when the cry was taken up, she raised her wrinkled countenance, and passed her hands over her eyes, as if to clear away the mist of more than seventy Winters. An immense procession drew nigh. Appropriate military music preceded the corpse being conveyed to its last earthly abiding place. The king of the land, the royal family, the nobility, the clergy, the learned, the brave, the gifted, the renowned, walked after it. The banners of mourning were waved, the trumpets wailed, and ten thousand sobs broke alike from stern and gentle breasts, and tears from the eyes of warriors as well as lovely women showered like rain. It was the funeral of Bertel Thorvaldsen, with the Danish nation for mourners! And she, the old woman who gazed at it as it slowly wound by—she was Amalie, his first love! Thorvaldsen had never married, neither had she.

"Ah, Himlen!" murmured the old woman, wiping away tears from a source which for many long years had been dry, "how marvellous is the will of God! To think that I should live to behold this sight! Poor, poor Bertel! All that I predicted came to pass; but ah me! who knows whether you might not have enjoyed a happier life after all had you stayed with your old father and mother, and married me. Ah, Himlen, there's only One can tell! Poor Bertel!"

Four years more sped, and one fine Sabbath morning an aged and decrepit female painfully dragged her weary limbs through the crowded rooms of that wonderous building known as Thorvaldsen's Museum. She paused not to glance at the matchless works of the Sculptor, but crept to a open doorway leading into the inner quadrangle, in the centre of which a low tomb of gray marble, encloses the mortal remains of him whose hand created the works which fill the edifice. Step by step she drew close to the tomb, and sank on the pavement by its side. Then she laid down her crutch, and pressed her bony hands tightly over her skinny brow. "Ja, ja!" murmured she; "they told me he lay here, and I prayed to God to grant me strength to crawl to the spot—and He has heard me. Ah, Himlen, I can die happy now!"

She withdrew her hands, and peered at the simple but all comprehensive inscription of "Bertel Thorvaldsen," deeply cut on the side of the tomb. Then she raised her forefinger, and earnestly traced with it every letter to the end. Smiling feebly, she let fall her hand, and complacently smiled, while an evanescent gleam of subtle emotion lighted up her linaments. "Tis true; he moulders here. Poor Bertel, we shall meet again—in heaven!"

Her eyes closed and her head slowly sank on her breast, in which attitude she remained until one of the officers of the museum, who had noticed her singular behavior, came up. "Gammel kone" (old wife) said he, "what are you doing?"

She answered not; and he slightly touched her shoulder, thinking she was asleep. Her body gently slid to the ground at the touch, and he then saw that she slept the sleep of death!—*Chambers's Edinburgh Journal.*

In Hungary, during a recent bear hunt, a very savage she bear had just been wounded, when all at once a young girl, about twelve years of age, rushed out of the thicket and threw herself on the expiring beast, giving utterance to most lamentable cries. With some difficulty this young savage was captured by means of cords and nets. It has been discovered that a peasant woman, some twelve years ago, lost her child, a little girl, on the confines of the forest, and has never since been able to obtain any tidings of her. A certain Countess Erdœli has taken the little girl under her care, and is obliged to feed her with roots, honey and raw meat—the usual food of bears.

THE owners of the omnibus lines of Gottenburg, Sweden, some time since provided each of their vehicles with a water reservior, from which the passengers can quench their thirst. They have now extended their courtesy by providing each traveller with a newspaper, giving the latest intelligence, and which he can read while in the omnibus.

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